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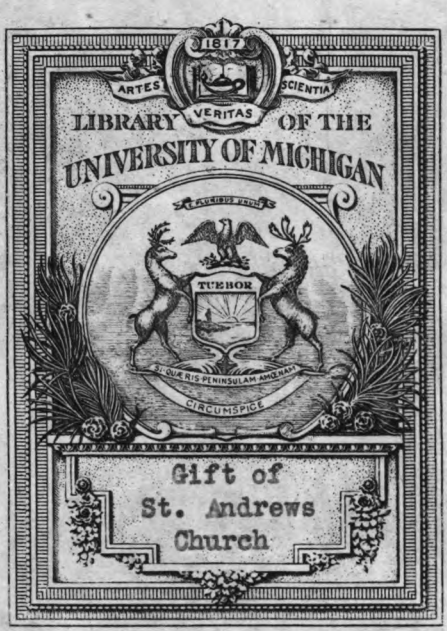

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HOBART HALL, 43. AT UNIV. OF MICH.

A

CHURCH HISTORY

BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

BISHOP OF LINCOLN

VOL. III.

CONTINUATION FROM THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 381.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD AND FOURTH VOLUMES.

THE Preface to the first Volume of this History, which, after some years of hope and preparation, is now brought to a conclusion, contained a statement of the design which the Author conceived in undertaking it, and which he has now attempted to execute.

He proposed to himself an endeavour to realize the leading idea which guided the ancient Church Historians, and which animated S. Augustine in his work "On the City of God," and which is unfolded in the Revelation of St. John, in the representation of the destinies of the Church from the first Advent of Christ to the end of the World.

According to that idea, the History of the Church displays a continual struggle of two antagonistic Powers, Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, the City of this World and the City of God. It shows how Evil has been permitted to assail the Church in various forms,—Persecution, Heresy, Schism, Superstition, Worldliness, Secularism, and Unbelief; how Good has been elicited from Evil, and Evil has been over-

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ruled for Good; and it suggests a hope, that the final conflict of Good and Evil, which Prophecy pre-announces as the fiercest of all, will be followed by the most glorious Victory, which it also foretells,—the complete subjugation of Evil, and universal triumph of Christ and His Church, and the everlasting glory and felicity of His faithful servants.

On this subject he will not say more; but there are two other topics, concerning which he would crave permission to offer some remarks.

The first observation refers to the Method adopted in writing this History, and the reasons for adopting it.

1. Some Authors of Church History have confined themselves to the strict chronological order of events. The most celebrated examples of this method of treatment are the Ecclesiastical Annals of Cardinal Baronius, and the Abbé Fleury's History of the Christian Church from our Lord's ministry to the year 1414.

Both these works are invaluable for purposes of reference. But the vastness of the subject—the history of the Universal Church—renders it almost impossible to gain a clear view of it when treated in this manner. In order that the chronological sequence of events in all parts of the Church may be rigidly observed, the reader is suddenly carried off by the historian from Rome to Constantinople, from Milan to Alexandria, from Illyricum to Spain. He is dis-

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tracted by rapid changes of places and persons claiming attention; and his mental powers are strained by an endeavour to retain in his memory the exact position of affairs from which he has been transported, and to which, after various wanderings in different parts of the world, he is brought back; and he thus too often finds himself in a state of perplexity and bewilderment.

2. This *annalistic* method (if we may be allowed the expression) has led by a process of reaction to a very different one, namely, the *biographical.*

The Ecclesiastical History of Fleury, which has just been mentioned, was almost contemporaneous in production with another noble monument of literary industry, that of the accurate, candid, and impartial Tillemont, in his Lives of the Christian Writers of the first six centuries of the Church.

But this method of Tillemont, excellent as it is in some respects, especially as engaging the sympathies of the reader with the illustrious persons who are presented to his view, has the disadvantage of diverting his attention from the general History of the Church itself; and as constraining the writer to repeat himself when narrating the acts of eminent persons who were contemporaneous, and associated with, other distinguished men, whose lives he has already written, or who were opposed to them.

Tillemont, whose modesty was equal to his industry and learning, seems to have been conscious of

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these inconveniences, and he therefore describes his elaborate work by the unassuming title of "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique."

3. A third method has found favour with many in modern times.

According to it, Church History resolves itself into a consecutive series of Essays or Dissertations on subjects concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church; its persecutions, its heresies, its sects, its controversies, its hierarchy, its sacraments, its Creeds, and its Missions.

All these are investigated with research, and are discussed with learning and ability, in histories of the Church, written by such distinguished men as Neander, Gieseler, Baur, and others, who are entitled to grateful commemoration for the light which they have shed on the questions treated by them.

But readers of Church History require more than this; they need something which will not merely inform their judgment, but will engage their affections, stimulate their energies, and guide their practice by living examples. Most readers of such histories will subscribe to the words of a recent Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford,[1] "Many Ecclesiastical histories consist mainly of histories of doctrines and opinions, and contain little else. How immensely do these gain in liveliness and power, and in the capacity of being understood, if we

[1] Dean Stanley, History of the Eastern Church, p. xlvi.

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view them through the medium of the lives, characters, and circumstances of those who received and taught them."

4. The fourth method is that which seems to combine the advantages of the other three, without their inconveniences.

This method is, on the whole, chronological, without being strictly annalistic; it is biographical without ceasing to be historical; it does not shun dissertations on important questions, but it endeavours to group these questions around eminent persons, whose names are identified with them, and to enunciate the arguments upon them, as far as may be, in their language.

In Civil History the most remarkable example of this method is the work of Gibbon. It owes its charm in a great degree to its method. It arrests the reader's attention, and gratifies his feelings, by enlisting his interest in the persons whose acts it describes. Its events are not connected and riveted together by a rigid mechanical chain of chronology, but by the moral inner connexion and sequence of cause and effect; and it carries him onward in a smooth and easy flow without distraction, by the marvellous harmony of its arrangement, the more wonderful on account of the vast extent and variety of the materials with which the writer had to deal. If these merits had not been marred by blemishes, for which they cannot atone, the "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman

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Empire" would probably have been without a rival in any language, ancient or modern.

In Ecclesiastical history—if we may venture to express an opinion—the work which seems to approach most nearly to it in recent days, so far as method is concerned, is that of the Duc de Broglie, "On the Church and Roman Empire in the Fourth Century."

This fourth method has been adopted by the Author of the present history. May he add that this method is suggested by the earliest Church History —the only one that has the authority of Inspiration —the Acts of the Apostles; in which the events recorded are, for the most part, grouped around the persons of two Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul?

Let us pass to another topic.

It will perhaps be alleged by some, that the Author of the present History has too frequently expressed his own opinions on questions of doctrine and discipline, arising in the course of it. He trusts, however, that in all cases he has stated the evidence fairly; and he felt bound, after summing up that evidence impartially, to declare frankly and unreservedly his own judgment upon it.

He has written with a full persuasion, that the Controversies of the fourth and fifth Centuries on the Authority and Inspiration of Holy Scripture, on the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, on the constitution of the Church, its Ministry, Sacraments, and Ritual; and on such practices as Prayers for

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the Dead, Marriage, Celibacy, and Divorce; adoration of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints, are about to be revived among us. He is also no less persuaded, with Bishop Pearson,[2] that the "chief use of Church History is to note the origin of every opinion, so that the rise of heresies and schisms, and also of doctrines in the Church, may be carefully observed. The duty of a Church Historian is to declare impartially what doctrines of the Church were inculcated and believed by the faithful in primitive times, and how the Catholic Fathers resisted heresies as they sprang up; and to set forth these things in order, from the authentic records of the Church. Nothing can be devised more efficacious for the settlement of theological Controversies than such a process as this."

He has written also mainly for the rising generation, particularly younger students of theology; and he trusts, therefore, that he may be pardoned for having endeavoured to supply evidence, and to suggest considerations for their guidance, in dealing with such questions as these, upon which well educated persons, especially the Clergy, may be expected to have formed an opinion.

May the Spirit of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity, deign to bless the endeavour.

[2] Bishop Pearson, Opera Postuma, i. 338, ed. Churton.

Riseholme, Lincoln,
Jan, 3, 1883.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE TO VOLS. II., III., AND IV.[1]

From the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, *to the Council of Chalcedon*, A.D. 451.

A.D.

325. COUNCIL of NICÆA, from the end of June (perhaps June 29) to Aug. 25.

326. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, dies; and is succeeded by Athanasius, vol. ii. 42.

327. Helena, the mother of Constantine, in Palestine; discovers the Holy Sepulchre; builds the Churches of the Resurrection, Ascension, and at Bethlehem, ii. 47.

328. Foundation of Constantinople.

329. Gregory Bishop of Nazianzus; father of Gregory Nazianzen, born soon afterwards. His friend S. Basil born three or four years after him.

Council of Arians at Antioch, in which Eustathius the orthodox Bishop, and Asclepas Bishop of Gaza, are condemned, ii. 52.

330. Dedication of Constantinople, May 11. Constantine recalls Arius from banishment, ii. 49.

Frumentius evangelizes Æthiopia (Abyssinia); consecrated Bishop for that country, ii. 43.

331. Birth of Julian, the future Emperor of Rome; and of Jovian.

False accusations against Athanasius; calumnies of Ischyras under the influence of the "Eusebians," so called from Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, ii. 51, 55.

332. Other false accusations against Athanasius—Arsenius.

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[1] For the preceding part of this CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE see above, vol. i. pp. xxi—xxxii.

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333. Constans declared Cæsar.

334. Eusebian Council of Cæsarea; Athanasius declines to attend.

335. Constantine's *Tricennalia.*
Council of Tyre against Athanasius, who is condemned, ii. 54—58.
Arius is received to communion at Jerusalem, ii. 59.
Partition of Empire by Constantine, who assigns Gaul to Constantine, jun.; the East to Constantius; Italy to Constans.

336. Athanasius appeals to Constantine at Constantinople, ii. 59, 60; is banished to Treves, ii. 62; is kindly received by Constantine, jun.
Marcellus of Ancyra deposed by Eusebians.
Constantine invites Arius to Constantinople, ii. 63.
Death of Arius, ii. 65.
Death of Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople, ii. 66.
Paul succeeds.

337. Constantine dedicates the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople; is baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia; dies on Whitsunday, May 22, ii. 66, 67; succeeded in the East by Constantius, who destroys many of his near relatives, who were accused of sedition; Julian escapes, ii. 69.
Partition of the Empire. Constantine, jun., the eldest son of Constantine, has Spain, Gaul, and the Transalpine regions; Constantius, the second son, has Asia, the East, and Egypt; Constans, the youngest, receives Italy, Sicily, Greece, Illyricum, and Western Africa, ii. 68.

338. Return of Athanasius to Alexandria, ii. 70.
Death of Eusebius of Cæsarea, the Church Historian, ii. 73; is succeeded by Acacius.
Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, is deposed by Constantius, who places Eusebius, the Arian Bishop of Nicomedia, in his room, ii. 72.

339. Cruelties perpetrated on the Catholics at Alexandria by the Arian Governor Philagrius. Gregory of Cappadocia, an Arian, sent by the Court and the Eusebians to supersede Athanasius, ii. 75. Outrages Alexandria. Athanasius retires to Rome—to Pope Julius—and remains there till A.D. 343. Rise of Monasticism in the West, ii. 77.

340. Constantine the Younger is slain near Aquileia, ii. 74; his brother Constans becomes master of the West.

341. Arianizing Synod at Antioch (the Synod of the Dedication, ii. 78) in the presence of Constantius. Eusebius of Nicomedia presides. Sentence against Athanasius reaffirmed.
"Creed of the Dedication," ii. 80.

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341. Canons of Antioch, ii. 80—83.
Julius of Rome writes to the Eusebians in favour of Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra.

342. Death of Eusebius of Nicomedia.
Heresy (Ebionitish and Sabellian) of Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium.

343. Council of Sardica, summoned by Constans, meets at the end of this year, or early in A.D. 344; Hosius of Corduba presides; 300 Bishops, principally of the West, are present, ii. 89—95; declare the Nicene Creed to be sufficient against Arianism; restore Athanasius and Marcellus.
Canons of Sardica, ii. 92—95.
Canons concerning Appeals to Julius, Bishop of Rome, ii. 92, 93.
Schism between the East and West, ii. 99.
Canons of Carthage on Donatism, ii. 96.

344. Persecutions of Christians by Sapor, King of Persia.

345. Persecutions in Persia continue. Many Martyrdoms.

349. Gregory, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, is killed by the people.
Athanasius returns, aided by Constans, and encouraged by Constantius, ii. 99—105. Effects of his return, ii. 107—109.
Ursacius and Valens (Bishop of Mursa) retract their false accusations against Athanasius, ii. 106; but afterwards join his persecutors again.
Three years' peace, ii. 108.

350. The Emperor Constans is slain by the usurper Magnentius, ii. 110.
Constantius sole Master of the Empire, ii. 111. Victor at Nisibis.

351. Council of Sirmium.
Photinus condemned.
"Creed of Sirmium."
Julian, aged twenty, renounces Christianity.
The usurper Magnentius is defeated by Constantius at the battle of Mursa; afterwards kills himself (A.D. 353).
Luminous Cross at Jerusalem, ii. 115.

352. Death of Pope Julius; succeeded by Liberius, ii. 116.

354. Council of Arles held by Constantius. New accusations against Athanasius; he is again condemned. Fall of Vincent of Capua, ii. 118.
Constantius kills Gallus Cæsar, his brother-in-law. Julian, brother of Gallus, escapes to Athens, where he finds Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil.

355. Council of Milan, ii. 119.
Another Arian Creed. Constantius present. Athanasius again condemned. Eusebius of Vercelli, Hilary of Poictiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, Liberius of Rome, and Hosius of Corduba are banished, ii. 120—125.

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355. Julian is recalled from Athens and declared Cæsar, and marries Helena, sister of Constantius.

356. Athanasius is again attacked, ii. 125; retires to the monasteries in Egypt, where he spent six years. George of Cappadocia is intruded into his see, ii. 126.

S. Antony dies ann. æt. 106.

Julian's successful campaigns in Gaul.

357. Constantius at Sirmium. Arian formulas, ii. 128.

Fall of Hosius, Bishop of Corduba

Fall of Liberius, Bishop of Rome, ii. 128.

358. Semi-Arians, ii. 131.

359. Constantius again at Sirmium.

"The dated Creed."

Council of Ariminum or Rimini. See vol. ii. pp. 19—21, 132—137.

360. Julian saluted Augustus at Paris; his wife Helena dies.

Constantius, unsuccessful in Persia, returns to Antioch; and, after the death of his wife Eusebia, marries Faustina.

361. Constantius at Antioch. Meletius elected Bishop.

Schisms in Arianism.

Julian declares war against Constantius.

Constantius dies in Cilicia, Nov. 3.

Julian, sole Emperor, re-establishes Paganism; professes Toleration. See vol. ii. pp. 139—185 for the history of his reign.

362. Luciferians, ii. 169, 170.

Lucifer consecrates Paullinus Bishop of Antioch.

Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, ii. 172—176.

His campaign in Persia; his defeat and death, ii. 178, 179.

Jovian's accession; favours Athanasius. See vol. ii. 189—196.

Council of Laodicea, ii. 196.

364. Death of Jovian; accession of Valentinian, ii. 205; associates his brother Valens with himself in the Empire, and assigns the East to Valens.

Consecration of Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia.

Reign of Valens in the East, ii. 229—278.

Persecution of Catholics.

366. Auxentius and Hilary.

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Conflicts at Rome before the accession of Damasus to the Pontificate, ii. 216.

367 (or Jan. 368). Death of S. Hilary.

370. Cruel persecution of Catholics by Valens, ii. 232.

372. His attempt against Basil at Cæsarea, ii. 253—256.

Persecution of Christians by Athanaric, King of the Goths.

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372. Gregory (brother of S. Basil) Bishop of Nyssa.
373. Death of Athanasius, ii. 225.
374. Council of Gangra against hyper-asceticism, ii. 243.
Ambrose Bishop of Milan.
375. Death of Valentinian; succeeded by his sons Gratian and Valentinian II. in the West, ii. 262.
377. Inroads of Goths. Overtures to Valens.
378. His defeat and death at Adrianople, ii. 270—274.
379. Death of S. Basil, ii. 275.
Theodosius Emperor, Jan. 16, ii. 293.
Gregory Nazianzen; his history, ii. 297—328.
379—381. His work at Constantinople.
The Cynic philosopher Maximus; his intrusion into the See of Constantinople.
380. Theodosius summons the COUNCIL of CONSTANTINOPLE.
381. Ecclesiastical Laws of Theodosius.
Priscillianists; persecution of in Spain. S. Martin.
Acts of the COUNCIL of CONSTANTINOPLE.
Gregory Bishop of Constantinople.
Death of Meletius.
Election of Flavian.
Resignation of Gregory; retires to Arianzus.
Election of Nectarius.
CREED and CANONS of Constantinople.
Theodosian Legislation against heathenism and heresy, iii. 1—10.
Council of Aquileia.
382. The Emperor Gratian rejects the appeal of Symmachus the Prefect of Rome, in favour of the Altar of Victory.
383. Arcadius, son of Theodosius, is declared Augustus.
Rebellion of Maximus against Gratian. Embassy of Ambrose.
384. Controversy of Symmachus and Ambrose on the Altar of Victory.
Death of Pope Damasus.
Siricius succeeds.
385. Decretal of Pope Siricius against the cohabitation of Clergy with their wives, iii. 97—113.
S. Jerome leaves Rome.
Priscillian executed.
Death of the Empress Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius.
386. Edict of Valentinian II. in favour of Arianism and Creed of Rimini.
Struggle of Ambrose against the Empress Justina his mother.
Discovery of the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius at Milan.
Conversion of Augustine at Milan, iii. 282—288.
Chrysostom Priest at Antioch, iv. 129.
387. Baptism of Augustine.

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387. Popular tumult at Antioch.
Chrysostom "on the Statues," iv. 136.
Maximus the usurper invades Italy.
Valentinian II. and his mother Justina fly to Thessalonica, and to Theodosius.
Theodosius marries Galla, sister of Valentinian II.

388. Victory of Theodosius over Maximus at Aquileia. Death of Maximus.
Death of Justina.
Theodosius refuses to restore the Altar of Victory.
S. Augustine at Tagaste.

389. Destruction of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

390. Massacre at Thessalonica.
Letter of Ambrose to Theodosius, iii. 54.
Penitence of Theodosius.

391. Laws of Theodosius against heathenism.

392. Murder of Valentinian II. by order of the rebel Arbogastes, who creates Eugenius Emperor.
Ambrose "de obitu Valentiniani."

393. Council of Hippo on Donatism.

394. Victory of Theodosius over Eugenius and Arbogastes near Aquileia, iii. 61—63.

395. Death of Theodosius at Milan.
Partition of the Empire between Arcadius (ann. æt. 19), Emperor of the East (under the tutelage of Rufinus, and afterwards of Eutropius), and Honorius (ann. æt. 12), Emperor of the West, under the tutelage of Stilicho.
Rufinus encourages Huns and Goths, and is slain by Gainas.
Eutropius succeeds him in his influence with Arcadius.
Augustine Coadjutor Bishop to Valerius at Hippo.

396. Alaric in Greece; passes through Thermopylæ; takes Athens, and abolishes the religious worship and mysteries at Eleusis.

397. Death of S. Ambrose, iii. 65.
Death of S. Martin.
Gildo in Africa revolts against the Emperor Honorius.

398. Honorius marries Maria, daughter of Stilicho.
Alaric made "Comes Illyrici" by the Eastern Emperor Arcadius, under the influence of his wife Eudoxia.
Chrysostom Bishop of Constantinople, iv. 146.
Reconciliation of Flavian of Antioch (by Chrysostom's means) with Theophilus of Alexandria, and Siricius Bishop of Rome.
Death of Pope Siricius; succeeded by Anastasius.

399. Revolt of Tribigildus in the East.
Disgrace and death of Eutropius the chamberlain.

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399. Persecution of the "Four Brothers" by Theophilus of Alexandria; they resort to Chrysostom at Constantinople.

400. Disciplinarian measures of Chrysostom in this and following year.
Gainas, having subdued Tribigildus, revolts and domineers over the Emperor.
Chrysostom resists him.
Gainas is defeated by Fravitta, and slain by Uldin, King of the Huns.

401. Hostility of Theophilus of Alexandria against Chrysostom at Constantinople in this and following year.

402. Death of Pope Anastasius; succeeded by Innocent.
Alaric invades Italy.
Stilicho repels him from Verona.

403. S. Epiphanius at Constantinople.
Battle of Pollentia between Alaric and the Romans; Alaric retires to Pannonia; Stilicho's intrigues with him against Arcadius.
"Synod of the Oak;" against Chrysostom.

404. Chrysostom is banished; and recalled.
Statue of Eudoxia.
Eudoxia persecutes Chrysostom.
Chrysostom condemned by Arcadius, and banished, iv. 175.
Death of Eudoxia.

405. Stilicho excites Alaric to war against Arcadius.
Radagaisus invades Italy with an immense force, but is defeated and killed at Fæsulæ near Florence.

406. Atticus Bishop of Constantinople.

407. Vandals, Alans, Suevians, Burgundians invade Gaul; are resisted by Constantine, who is declared Emperor in Britain.
Death of Chrysostom, vol. iv. 179.

408. Honorius marries Thermantia, second daughter of Stilicho.
Alaric, having been excited by Stilicho to war against Arcadius, turns back to war against Honorius.
Death of Arcadius, Emperor of the East; succeeded by his son Theodosius II.
Stilicho, suspected of treachery, is killed at Ravenna by order of Honorius, his son-in-law.
Alaric besieges Rome; bought off by money.

409. Alaric (with his brother-in-law Athanulph) besieges Rome.
Western Empire menaced in Spain, Gaul, and Britain by Vandals, who occupy Spain in A.D. 411.

410. Rome taken by Alaric.
Alaric dies near Cosenza, and is succeeded by Athanulph, who marries Galla Placidia, sister of Honorius (A.D. 414).

411. Conference between Catholics and Donatists at Carthage.

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411. The Emperor Constantine is killed by Count Constantius.

412. Augustine begins to write on the Pelagian Controversy.
Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, dies; is succeeded by his nephew Cyril, vol. iv. 201.

413. Count Marcellinus murdered.

414. Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II., is declared Augusta, and governs with him; and after his death (A.D. 450).
End of Schism at Antioch under the influence of Alexander, Bishop of that city; and restoration of S. Chrysostom's name to diptychs.
Strife between Cyril the Bishop and Orestes the Governor of Alexandria.

415. Murder of Hypatia, iv. 202.
Synod at Jerusalem on Pelagianism.
Council of Diospolis in favour of Pelagianism.
Athanulph is murdered by one of his own servants; his widow Galla Placidia (daughter of Theodosius the Great) marries Constantius (in 417), and (in 419) gives birth to Valentinian III.

416. Councils of Carthage and Milevum against Pelagians.
Pope Innocent dies; is succeeded by Zosimus.

417. Zosimus acquits the Pelagians.
Pelagius is condemned at Antioch.
Case of Apiarius—continued A.D. 418 and 419, and in A.D. 426, when Appeals to Rome are forbidden in Africa.
African Bishops remonstrate with Zosimus for his acquittal of the Pelagians, and he yields to their remonstrance.

418. Zosimus dies; is succeeded by Boniface (A.D. 419).

420. S. Jerome dies, iii. 247, 248.

421. Constantius declared Augustus by Honorius; dies after a reign of seven months.
Theodosius marries Athenais (Eudocia).
Victory of Theodosius II. in Persia, where Christians were suffering persecution.

422. Pope Boniface dies; succeeded by Cælestine.

423. The Emperor Honorius dies.
Theodosius sole Emperor.

424. Placidia is recognized in the East.
Valentinian, her son, is declared Cæsar by Theodosius, his uncle, and in the following year is recognized as Augustus in the West, and governs under the guidance of his mother Placidia.

426. Valentinian quits Rome for Ravenna.
Augustine nominates Heraclius, a presbyter, as his commissary and future successor.

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A.D.

427. Semi-Pelagianism at Marseilles.
Count Boniface, decoyed into rebellion against Placidia, invites Vandals into Africa in A.D. 428; ravages of Vandals in Africa. Boniface afterwards submits to Placidia; and is defeated by Vandals, A.D. 429.

428. Nestorius Bishop of Constantinople, iv. 191.

429. S. Cyril's first letter to Nestorius, iv. 209.
S. Germain d'Auxerre and S. Lupus sent by Cælestine to Britain to recover it from Pelagianism.

430. S. Cyril's second letter to Nestorius; and his Epistle on the Incarnation to Theodosius and to "the Princesses" his sisters.
Hippo besieged by the Vandals.
Death of Augustine, iii. 290, 291.
Council of Alexandria against Nestorius.
The twelve "Anathematisms," iv. 212.

431. COUNCIL of EPHESUS, iv. 215.
Nestorius deposed.
Maximian chosen Bishop of Constantinople in his place.
Pope Cælestine sends Palladius to Ireland.

432 (?). S. Patrick the Apostle of Ireland, iv. 106—118.

432. Pope Cælestine dies; succeeded by Sixtus III.
Paul of Emesa at Alexandria; reconciliation of Cyril and John of Antioch (A.D. 433).

434. Proclus Bishop of Constantinople.

437. Catholics persecuted by Genseric the Vandal in Africa.

438. Theodosian Code published.

440. Pope Sixtus dies; succeeded by Leo I. the Great.

441. Council of Orange.

442. Council of Vaison.

444. Death of S. Cyril of Alexandria; succeeded by Dioscorus.

448. Eutyches condemned for heresy by Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, iv. 239, 240.

449. Leo's "dogmatic Epistle" to Flavian, iv. 251—255.
"*Latrocinium* of Ephesus" under Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria.
Eutyches acquitted, iv. 261—264.
Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, deposed and murdered.

450. Death of the Emperor Theodosius II.; succeeded by Marcian and Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II.

451. GENERAL COUNCIL of CHALCEDON, iv. 270—289.

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CHAPTER I.

The reign of Theodosius the Great—Destruction of Paganism in the East.

THE Emperor Constantine had endeavoured to bring the Roman World into unity and subjection to his royal sway by means of Christianity, as revealed in Holy Scripture, and as professed by the Catholic Church. His son Constantius had endeavoured to make Christianity subordinate to the Imperial power, vested in himself, and wielded at his own will.

His successor Julian had attempted to subvert Christianity, and to re-instate Paganism in its place. The brief reign of Jovian, who consulted and supported Athanasius, had shown to the Church and the World that God does not need earthly Sovereigns for the maintenance of the Faith. After him Valens in the East made a strenuous attempt to establish Arianism as the religion of the Empire; while Valentinian, the elder brother of Valens, pursued a policy of toleration in the West, with a leaning to the Catholic Church. After their death, Gratian, the son of Valentinian,[1] assigned the Empire of the East, with Thrace, Eastern Illyria, and Greece, to Theodosius the First, afterwards called the Great.

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.

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The Emperor Theodosius inaugurated a new era in the history of the Church. Not for Cæsar, but for Christ, was his principle of government. But he laboured for Cæsar in subordination to Christ, and in dependence upon Him, and in obedience to His Will and Word. And for the knowledge of that Will, and for the exposition of that Word, he did not—like Constantius—rely on his own private judgment, but he referred to those whom he recognized as its appointed guardians and interpreters.

In his edict on Feb. 28, A.D. 380, he appealed to the teaching of the Churches of Rome and Alexandria as the standards of the faith.[2] His intention in convoking the Council of Constantinople was to confirm the Faith of Nicæa, and to add to it a declaration of belief in the Godhead of the Holy Ghost.[3] And when the Catholic Church had uttered her voice in the dogmatic decrees of the Council of Constantinople,[4] he submitted to her authority, and resolved to establish the faith promulgated by it as the religion of the Empire; and in his edict of July 30, 381, he ordered all Churches to be assigned to those who professed that form of belief and worship which was in accordance with the ecrees of that Council.[5] He also testified his reverence for the Christian Church, by edicts in favour of the observance of the Lord's Day, and of the Season of Lent, by suspension of civil and criminal proceedings at those times.[6] He

[2] Cod. Theodos. xvi. tit. 1, l. 2. [3] Socr. v. 8. Sozomen, vii. 7.

[4] Above, vol. ii. 331—338.

[5] Cod. Theodos. xvi. tit. 1, 3. In his edict of July 19 he forbade the erection of churches by Arians. The originals of these and other decrees (referred to in the text) may be seen in the Codex Theodosianus, ed. Haenel, Bonn, 1842, pp. 14, 75 sqq., and Series Chronologica, p. 1670 sqq. [6] Ibid. xv. 7. 4 and 5 and 10 (de Scenicis).

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prohibited the games of the Circus on holy days.[7] He protected Christian girls from being enlisted against their will in the service of the stage,[8] and from being degraded to other nefarious uses.

But he did not stop there. He resolved to uproot Paganism, and to build Christianity on its ruins.

Theodosius possessed singular qualifications for the work.

His frank address, his brave and noble character and carriage gave assurances to his subjects that he did not act on capricious impulses of personal passion, but with a conscientious and earnest desire to promote the temporal and eternal welfare of his people. This assurance was confirmed by the virtues of his wife Flaccilla, a beautiful pattern of conjugal fidelity and matronly love in a degenerate and dissolute age, and a living example of the healthful and beneficent influence diffused by Christianity, in her bountiful almsgiving, and personal acts of mercy in nursing the sick and needy in Hospitals, Infirmaries, and Asylums, and in her compassionate intercessions with her Imperial Consort on behalf of distressed sufferers and condemned malefactors.[9] "My dear husband," she said to Theodosius, "remember what you were once, and what you are now. If you habitually think of this, you will never be unthankful to your divine Benefactor, and will govern well the Empire you have received from His hands, and will thus worship Him whose gift it is."

The Eastern Empire subject to Theodosius was

[7] Cod. Theodos. ii. 8. 25; ix. 35. 4; ix. 21; xv. 5. 2.

[8] Ibid. ii. 8. 20.

[9] See the beautiful picture of her life and character in Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. v. 18, ed. Schulze.

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far better prepared for such a change in its national religion than the Western. Constantinople was "*new Rome*," and it was very different from old Rome, especially in that respect. The Paganism of Rome had a prescription of ten centuries, and was deeply rooted in the hearts and habits of its people. Rome abounded with heathen temples; but not a single shrine or altar of Paganism was seen at Constantinople. The transfer of the seat of Empire by Constantine from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Bosphorus was indeed an act of state policy, but it produced a religious revolution. It was fatal to Heathenism, and favourable to Christianity in the East. In a series of edicts, ranging over eleven years, as may be seen in the Imperial Code,[1] from A.D. 381 to A.D. 392, Theodosius endeavoured to abolish Paganism. On May 2,[2] A.D. 381, all who lapsed from Christianity to heathenism were pronounced incapable of making a will; and on May 20, A.D. 383, they were disabled from receiving legacies.[3] On Dec. 21, 381, they who resorted to heathen temples for the sake of divination were proscribed; whereas, adds the imperial legislator, "we ought to offer holy supplications to God, and not to dishonour Him by impious incantations." On May 25, A.D. 385,[4] heavier penalties were denounced against those who for the sake of prying into the future inspected the liver or entrails of animals which they had sacrificed.

[1] See above, note 5, p. 2. These edicts may be seen in the works of Theodosius in the Abbé Migne's Patrologia, xiii. 522—542, and in Dr. Lardner's Credibility, iv. 441—444, ed. Lond., 1815, and in M. Étienne Chastel's Destruction du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient," pp. 179—206, ed. Paris, 1850.

[2] Cod. Theod. xvi. 7. 1.

[3] Ibid. xvi. 7. 2.

[4] Ibid. xvi. 10. 9.

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In A.D. 391, Feb. 24,[5] the following enactment was made:—"Let no one pollute himself with sacrifices; let no one immolate an innocent victim; let no one resort to shrines or temples and pay reverence to images made with human hands, lest he incur the penalties of divine and human laws."

These prohibitions were repeated with severer menaces on July 1 in the same year,[6] and Magistrates were forbidden to abuse their civil authority by partaking in heathen worship. And in the following year (A.D. 392, Nov. 8) a decree[7] was promulgated against heathen worship in private families by libations of wine to household deities, or by burning incense, or by kindling lights, or by adorning them with garlands, and against secret divinations. Even private houses where such ceremonies were solemnized were liable to be confiscated, and fines were imposed on those who celebrated them in temples.

In this edict the arts of magic and divination are forbidden, not only on religious, but also on political and social grounds, because such practices were resorted to for the purposes of prying into the death-day of rulers[8] or of private relatives.

Some of the temples themselves were first closed;[9] and afterwards, especially in cities of the East, they were doomed to destruction. But this was done by the zeal of individuals, especially of the Monks, who are denounced by the heathen rhetoricians of the day, such as Eunapius,[1] in vehement and contumelious

[5] Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 10. [6] Ibid. xvi. 10. 11.

[7] Ibid. xvi. 10. 12.

[8] Compare the history of Valens, above, vol. ii. pp. 213, 273.

[9] Zosim. iv. 37. This was by no means universal. See Chrysost in 1 Epist. ad Cor. hom. 25 adv. Jud. i. 6.

[1] Eunap. Vit. Ædesii, pp 73—75.

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language, as fanatical rebels engaged in a Titanic warfare against the gods of Olympus. He describes them as clad in black garments, and as wildly roaming about in troops, especially in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and spreading havoc and desolation far and wide in heathen temples and altars. "These monks," he says, "dwell at Canopus (in Egypt), and they beguile men to serve wretched slaves" (i. e. the Martyrs) "instead of the gods. They gather together the skulls of those who had been put to death by the laws for their crimes, and they acknowledge as gods persons who after living in miserable servitude have died under the lash, and who bore on their persons[2] the marks of their castigations, and these are called Martyrs and Deacons and Mediators with the gods."

A similar description of the Monks as destroyers of Temples is given by another celebrated heathen rhetorician, Libanius of Antioch,[3] in the oration which he addressed to Theodosius on behalf of the heathen Temples, in which he pleaded the cause of heathen worship as that which had gained for men and Nations the protection and favour of heaven, and had raised the

[2] *Persons.* The text of Eunapius here is corrupt. The editions have εἰδώλοις, and this is rendered *images* by Fleury (Hist. Eccl. xix. 31), and so Tillemont. See Boissonade in loc. I venture to offer a conjecture, that the true reading is (with the transposition of one letter) ἑδωλίοις, i.e. *posterioribus* corporum partibus, *fundamentis, their seats.* So ἕδρα is used by Herod. ii. 87, Hippocrat. Aphorism. 1253, and in the Septuagint Version of 1 Sam. v. 3, 9.

Fleury, being deceived by the erroneous reading εἰδώλοις, says, "It appears that men kept the *images* of the martyrs, on which were the marks of their sufferings."

[3] Libanius pro Templis Gentilium, ed. Gothofred, Genev. 1634. An English translation of this oration may be seen in Dr. Lardner's Credibility, iv. 359. It is doubtful whether it was ever *spoken.*

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Roman Empire to its pinnacle of grandeur and glory.

In that oration he argues that these predatory hordes who issued from the monasteries and assaulted the temples, "and tore off their roofs, and pulled down their walls, and carried off their images, and overthrew their altars, and erected trophies over their ruins, especially in rural districts, where there was no sufficient force to oppose them, and deluged whole countries with a flood of desolation," were contravening the will of the Emperor himself, who had not authorized such destructive violence.

There was truth in this allegation. Theodosius, on Nov. 30, A.D. 382,[4] had restrained the religious zeal of Eulogius, Bishop of Edessa, in Osrhoëné, the northern region of Mesopotamia, and had commanded the Prefect Palladius to preserve its celebrated Temple on account of the artistic beauty of its statues,[5] and allowed it to remain open, not for sacrifice or for oracular divination, but as a Museum of Art. But he does not seem to have checked or punished the outrages of those who afterwards razed it to the ground under the influence of another Prefect and of his wife, who was devoted to the interests of Eulogius.[6] And in the year 385, Marcellus, Bishop of Apameia in Syria—in the valley of the Orontes—destroyed many temples in that city[7] and neighbourhood, and was assisted by the imperial Prefect Cynegius in his religious zeal, to which he at length became a victim, and is celebrated by the Western Church as a Martyr.[8] Indeed the

[4] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 10. 8.

[5] "Simulacra magis artis pretio quàm divinitate metienda."

[6] See the authorities cited by Chastel, p. 191.

[7] Soz. vii. 15. Theodoret, v. 21. [8] August 14.

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argument of Libanius was afterwards signally refuted by Theodosius himself. In the year 391, at the instance of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, he ordered the temple of Dionysus to be surrendered to the Christians and converted into a Church;[9] and on the occasion of a conflict of the Pagans with the Christians in that city, when many Christians were maltreated, tortured, and crucified by their heathen opponents, who took refuge in the magnificent temple of the national deity Serapis, that temple itself, one of the noblest in Egypt and in Heathendom, and second only in splendour and grandeur to those on the Roman Capitol, was levelled to the dust.[1]

Theodosius, having been appealed to by the Prefect Evagrius,[2] sent an imperial rescript, which he ordered to be read publicly at Alexandria. He there condemned the superstitions of the heathen, and ordered the temples of Alexandria to be destroyed, as the cause of the present riot and bloodshed.[3]

The destruction of the Temple of Serapis was a crisis in the history of Eastern Heathenism. The statue of that deity was regarded with solemn awe; and it was a popular tradition that the demolition of that statue would be followed by the end of the World. There was also a prevalent belief that if Serapis was dishonoured, the overflowing of the Nile would cease, and Egypt would perish with famine.

But Theophilus was not daunted by these forebodings: he gave the word of command; a soldier levelled a blow with an axe against the face of the

[9] Sozomen, vii. 15.
[1] Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 16.
[2] Soz. vii. 15. Rufin. xi. 22.
[3] Soz. vii. 15. Socr. v. 16. Rufin. xi. 22, 23. Theodoret, v. 22. Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 16.

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deity; the head was severed from the body, and from the fragments of the mutilated carcase issued forth a multitude of mice.[4] The World did not come to an end; the Nile overflowed more abundantly than before, and enriched Egypt with a plenteous harvest; and Constantinople, which was fed by it, profited by the fruitful season of the year in which the Serapëum was razed to the ground. The destruction of the Temple of Serapis led to the overthrow of other temples in Egypt.

The popular faith received a rude shock from this demolition of the deity which it adored. That memorable event revealed the characteristic weakness of Paganism. It identified its gods with idols; and the demolition of its idols was virtually the annihilation of its gods. Theodosius saw clearly that the destruction of idols was the surest way to extirpate heathenism. At the destruction of the Serapëum and other temples in Egypt, many revelations, it is said, were made of sanguinary cruelties, such as the immolation of infants as victims,[5] in their dark subterranean crypts. Lewd symbols of pagan worship, and licentious practices of heathen Priests, personating the deity of the temple, were exposed, which brought shame on the Pagan hierarchy and religion, and prepared the way for the abandonment of Heathenism and for the reception of Christianity.

This work of destruction was completed in the summer of A.D. 391, July 16.

Unhappily at Alexandria it extended not only to the objects of heathen worship in the Temple

[4] *μύες ἀγεληδὸν ἐξέδραμον.* Theodoret, v. 22. Most recent English writers of Church History call them *rats.*

[5] Socr. v. 16, 17. Soz. vii. 16. Rufinus, xi. 22, 23. Fleury, xix. 30.

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of Serapis, but to the treasures of ancient Literature contained in the magnificent Library which was attached to it. The Library of the Ptolemies had been destroyed by the Romans in the Alexandrian war of Julius Cæsar ; but the loss was in some degree repaired by Mark Antony, who gave to Cleopatra 200,000 volumes, the spoils of the Library of the kings of Pergamus. These were given to the flames as tainted by pagan superstition.[6]

Two Christian Churches were built at Alexandria on the site of the Temple of Serapis ;[7] and we shall see that the great Archbishop of Constantinople, S. Chrysostom, in the reign of Arcadius, the son of Theodosius, was zealous in promoting the cause of Christian Missions in countries where heathen temples had been extirpated, and that he exhorted landlords in his Province to build churches on their estates.

In reviewing this history, we cannot but feel sympathy with those devout heathens who were suddenly deprived of beautiful objects, hallowed by religious rites and ceremonies, and by sacred associations reaching back for many centuries. Some of the fundamental truths of ancestral religion were disturbed by this work of demolition. "All men have need of the gods" was the devout utterance of their prince of poets.[8] And as to libations and offerings, the wise son of Nestor, Antilochus, into whose mouth the poet puts those words, accompanies them with an apophthegm which even some Christians in recent times seem to have forgotten, and which harmonizes with the declaration of the Apostle, "Every creature

[6] See the authorities in Gibbon, ch. xxviii. vol. v. p. 109.

[7] Rufin. xi. 27, 28. [8] Homer, Odyss. iii. 48. Cp. Arat. v. 4.

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of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer."[9]

The devout heathen did not begin his daily meals without prayer to the Divine Being;[1] and the duty of daily morning and evening prayer had been inculcated by Hesiod.[2] And none but Epicurus and his followers neglected this practice.[3] No one can read without delight the beautiful description[4] which one of the best of heathens, a brave soldier, a wise philosopher, and a favourite pupil of Socrates, and, if we may so speak, a pattern of a Greek country gentleman, Xenophon, has given of his own farm at Scillus in Elis, about three miles from Olympia—the fresh stream well stocked with fish; the variegated woodland abounding in game, and the rural temple and altar of Artemis reared by his hand; and the joyful gatherings of his peasantry resorting on the annual festivals to offer their prayers and praises, and regaled by his genial hospitality, and the regular offering of tithes from the produce of the estate for pious and charitable purposes. And no one can have contemplated in imagination such scenes as these, without pangs of sorrow for the wrench made in the best feelings of devout heathens by the promiscuous and ruthless demolition encouraged by the laws of Theodosius. No one can have accompanied in his mind the shepherds of Theocritus[5] to their rural harvest-home at the village feast of Phrasidamus, and have reclined with them beneath the shade of elms and poplars

[9] 1 Tim. iv. 4.

[1] Arat. iii. 47—54; and the statement in Homer, Il. viii. 480, that "no one (of the Greeks or Trojans) ventured to drink before he had made a libation to Zeus."

[2] Hesiod, Works and Days, 334.

[3] Athen. Deipn. iv. 27.

[4] Xenophon, Anabasis, v. 3.

[5] Theocrit. Idyll vii. 130.

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near the fountain of the Nymphs, and amid the murmur of bees and the plaintive note of the stock-doves, and the rich autumnal produce of apples, pears, and plums, strewn at their feet; and have listened to their simple strains of pious thankfulness to Demeter, holding the ripe stalks and poppies in her hand, without some feeling of regret, that their piety, —which might well stimulate some who enjoy the blessings of a purer faith—was often exposed to fanatical insult and outrage, without perhaps any substitute for it.

The precept also of the greatest of Latin[6] Poets to his husbandman, "Imprimis venerare Deos," and the words of his lyrical contemporary and friend, Horace, declaring to the Roman People that their best hope of national greatness lay in acknowledging the Divine Supremacy,[7]—

"Dîs te minorem quod geris, imperas,"

and in reverence for places of public worship, had doubtless made an impression on the minds of many, who were represented in the East by such public protests as those already mentioned of Eunapius and Libanius, who regarded those laws as sacrilegious outrages against heaven, and as disastrous to the public and private weal of the Empire.

On the other hand it would be unjust to Theodosius, and ungrateful to the Divine Head of the Church, to censure his policy in this respect, and to disparage the benefits which accrued from it.

[6] Virgil, Georg. i. 338.

[7] Horat. 3 Carm. vi. 5. Cp. 3 Carm. vi. 1—4; 2 Carm. xv. 7; 2 Sat. ii. 104, on the duty of repairing the national Temples. See also the pleasing view of domestic piety and devotion in the farm of Ofellus, in Horace, 2 Sat. ii. 124.

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We must not apply to an Emperor of Rome in that age the rules and precedents of a representative and constitutional government. The Roman Empire was one family. The Emperor was its Father and Head. The Roman Laws were not like Parliamentary Statutes enacted by the Crown with the advice of Lords and Commons. The Theodosian Code is written in the first person: "*We* will it." The Emperor speaks in it as the sole Lawgiver. Invested with unlimited power, he felt individual responsibility. He stood alone in the presence of his people, and in the eye of God. He looked on himself as God's Minister, bound to act according to His Will, as revealed in His Word, and for the advancement of His Glory.

No wonder that such a Sovereign as Theodosius should regard the Empire as a Theocracy; and that he should think himself—being God's Vicegerent and Representative, deriving his authority from Him—to be obliged, as such, to execute God's judgments against Polytheism and Idolatry—which he regarded as high treason against the Supreme Governor of the World—the One True God, who is a jealous God—and to imitate the religious zeal of a Joshua, a Gideon, an Asa, a Jehoshaphat, an Hezekiah, or a Josiah. He knew that Monotheism was older than Polytheism; and he deemed that the destruction of Paganism was not an act of insurrection or rebellion against a lawful authority, but a just vindication of the usurped supremacy of the One True God, and a restoration of His divine Majesty to its rightful place in the Universe.

We may regret the sorrow and distress caused to many devout minds; we must deplore the irregular

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manner in which these laws were anticipated by private persons,[8] or put into execution by them, especially by the monks of Egypt, just as we deplore the ruthless violence and profane outrages wreaked by secular spoilers and ravagers on the Monasteries and Cathedral and other Churches in England and Scotland at the Reformation in the sixteenth century; and if we were to censure Theodosius, we should have to pronounce a severer sentence of condemnation on our own Legislature, not only in its public acts dissolving the lesser and greater Monasteries[9] (which were not pagan, but Christian), but also in destroying all monuments, images, pictures, and books[1] which in its eyes were tainted by superstition.

We may well wish that more heathen Temples had been spared and converted into Christian Churches. The change of the Temple of Theseus at Athens into the Church of S. George, and the consecration of the Pantheon at Rome, suggest many regrets that such instances had not been more common; and that the destruction of so many beautiful fabrics by Christian hands in the fourth and fifth centuries afforded a precedent for a similar work of demolition in the sixteenth by those whose intemperate violence in that respect is deplored by our best and wisest divines.[2]

[8] On such irregular acts of fanatical private zeal, see Bp. Sanderson's wise remarks, Serm. on Rom. iii. 8, vol. ii. p. 64 (ed. Jacobson), and Serm. on Ps. cvi. 30, vol. ii. p. 255.

[9] 27 Henry VIII. c. 28, and 31 Henry VIII. c. 13.

[1] 3 and 4 Edward VI. cap. 10, for the destruction of Popish books and images. Even so late as 1 George I. c. 1, all hereditaments given to superstitious uses, i.e. "for the furtherance of some Popish superstition," were forfeited to the Crown.

[2] See, for example, Hooker, Eccl. Pol. V. xvii.

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But in this imperfect world, we may well be thankful whenever good overbalances evil. And this was greatly so in the public legislation and action against Paganism in the reign of Theodosius. It much advanced the cause of Christianity. It showed the essential difference between it and Heathenism. The Church had grown by persecution. The blood of Martyrs was the seed of its harvests. The opposition of the World accelerated the progress of the Gospel. But Heathenism perished under temporal discouragement and imperial violence. The Church flourished by Martyrdoms; Heathenism had no Martyrs. None of the champions of Paganism, such as Themistius, Libanius, Eunapius, or Zosimus, endured any sufferings or made any sacrifices for it. The Christian Church prospered, although it had no endowments from the State. It lived by the alms of the faithful. But when the revenues of heathen Temples and of their ritual were withdrawn by the Civil Power, Heathen Worship languished, and fell silently into decay. It had no life in the hearts of the People. It did not inspire them with faith and love. Being not grounded on truth, it was not of God; and not being from God, it could not live.

But we must now turn our eyes from the East to the West, where we shall see a similar struggle. Let us pass from the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople to S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

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CHAPTER II.

Episcopate of S. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (to A.D. 397, *April* 5)—*Struggle against Paganism, and against Arianism—Death of the Emperor Gratian and of Valentinian—Penitence of Theodosius; his Victory and Death—Death of S. Ambrose—Review of the History of Theodosius and Ambrose.*

S. AMBROSE had been raised to the Episcopate by acclamation, and almost, it might seem, by inspiration. He had been suddenly chosen, against his will, by the unanimous voice of the people, seconded by the authority of the Emperor Valentinian.[1] He had been snatched, as he expresses it, from the secular tribunal of the Consular Magistracy of Liguria and Æmilia to the Episcopal throne of Milan.[2] S. Basil hailed with joy the election of S. Ambrose, which cheered him in his sorrows at Cæsarea.[3] The See of Rome, which now claims to be the fountain of authority and jurisdiction to all Bishops not only in Italy but throughout Christendom, had no share in the appointment of one of the most illustrious Bishops of the Western Church in the fourth century, nor of any one

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 250.

[2] Ambrose de Officiis, i. 2 and 4.

[3] Above, vol. ii. 251.

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of his suffragans.[4] Indeed, Damasus, Bishop of Rome, was much more indebted to Ambrose, as we shall see, than Ambrose ever was to Damasus. Ambrose was of a noble family, the son of an imperial prefect[5] in Gaul, probably resident at Arles. He was trained in liberal arts at Rome, where he lived with his mother and sister Marcellina, older than himself, and with his younger brother Satyrus; and he attained considerable celebrity as an eloquent orator and advocate at the Roman bar.[6] When he was sent to Milan as Governor of Liguria and Æmilia by the celebrated Anicius Probus, Prefect of Rome, "Go," said that noble Christian Patrician, "and act not as a Judge, but as a Bishop."[7] Ambrose acted as a Magistrate with the clemency of a Bishop; but he acted also as a Bishop with the energy of a Magistrate.

To his work as Bishop, Ambrose devoted all his powers of body and soul. He gave his private estate to the Church, reserving a life-interest in it to his sister Marcellina, and committed all his secular cares to his brother Satyrus, who denied himself all other enjoyments that he might have the happiness of living for his brother the Bishop of Milan, whom he loved as his own soul, and in the care of whose affairs he at last lost his life.[8]

No Western Bishop, as we have seen,[9] was present at the Council of Constantinople held in the summer

[4] May I be allowed to refer, for evidence of this fact, and for practical inferences from it, to the Three Letters addressed by me to Sir James Hudson, printed in my "Tour in Italy," vol. ii. p. 325?

[5] Paullin. Vit. Ambr. c. 2.

[6] "Splendidè causas peroravit." Paullin. c. 5.

[7] Paullin. Vit. Ambros. c. 8.

[8] Ambrose de Excessu Satyri Fratris, i. 20, 21, 25, 27, 51—56.

[9] Vol. ii. p. 342.

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of 381, and soon afterwards recognized as the Second General Council of the Church, as it has continued to be not only in the East but in the West for 1500 years.

At first its decrees were not known in the West; and when known were *not* at once *received;* and this we may observe in passing is one of the proofs that the essential characteristic of a General Council is not in the number of its Bishops, or in the countries from which they come, but in the *eventual universal reception* of its decrees.[1] In the first instance S. Ambrose, with that spirit of courageous frankness which distinguished him, challenged some of its proceedings. He did this in a letter to the Emperor Theodosius himself.[2] In the name of the Bishops of Italy he remonstrated against the deposition of Maximus from the Archiepiscopal Throne of Constantinople,[3] and on the consecration first of Gregory Nazianzen, and then of Nectarius in his place; and he also complained of the consecration of Flavian in the place of Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, while Paullinus was still living.[4] These acts of S. Ambrose are significant as showing the spiritual independence and energy of the Christian Church; they prove also that the decrees of Synods were tested before they were generally accepted; and they incidentally reflect credit on Theodosius. The Emperor listened patiently to the expostulations of the Italian Episcopate, represented by S. Ambrose; and replied to their remonstrancè, and removed their scruples, except so far as the action of the Eastern Bishops in the consecration of Flavian was concerned;[5] and the Bishops acknow-

[1] Cp. above, vol. i. 393; ii. 342.
[2] Ambrose, Epist. 13.
[3] See above, vol. ii. 324.
[4] Above, vol. ii. 324—326.
[5] See Sozomen, vii. 11, and S. Jerome, Epist. 86 ad Eustoch., whence

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ledged with thankfulness, in a reply written by Ambrose, his zeal for the maintenance of truth, and for the unity of the Eastern and Western Churches.[6]

Some weeks after the Council of Constantinople, namely, on Sept. 3, A.D. 381, a Synod, convoked by Gratian, Emperor of the West, met at Aquileia, the capital of Venetia at the head of the Adriatic. Valerian, as Bishop of Aquileia, presided; but its counsels were guided by Ambrose.[7] Thirty-two Bishops were present, among whom, after Ambrose, the most celebrated were Philastrius, Bishop of Brixia (Brescia), the author of a work still extant "On Heresies;" and Heliodorus of Altinum, the friend of Jerome. Damasus, Bishop of Rome, was not there, nor any legate from him. Rome was still suffering from the schism of Ursinus, the rival of Damasus for the Episcopate.[8] The principal purpose for which the Council was summoned by the Emperor was to put an end to the controversy with Arianism. This it effected by a careful examination of the arguments of two Arian Bishops, Palladius and Secundianus, which are inserted, with their refutation by S. Ambrose, in the Acts of the Council. It is observable that Ambrose[9] quoted the text, "This is the true God" (1 John v. 20), and applied it to Jesus Christ as a proof of His divinity; and Palladius did not dispute the propriety of this application.[1]

Arianism, which had been suppressed in the East at

it appears that the Western Bishops recognized Paullinus, and not Flavian, as Bishop of Antioch.

[6] Ambrose, Epist. 14.

[7] The proceedings of the Council of Aquileia may be seen in Labbe's Concilia, ii. 986—1001. Cf. Hefele, Concilien, ii. 35.

[8] See above, vol. ii. 216, 217. [9] Labbe, Concil. ii. 992.

[1] Cp. Dr. Waterland's Works, v. 193, on this application.

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Constantinople a short time before, received its death-blow in the West at Aquileia. This was a more remarkable coincidence, because the Bishops of Aquileia do not seem to have known what had been done at Constantinople. A few years afterwards S. Augustine described Arianism as dead.[2]

Ursinus, who has been already mentioned as the rival of Damasus Bishop of Rome, favoured the Arians; and Ambrose with the Bishops at Aquileia addressed a synodical letter[3] to the Emperor Gratian, and his brother Valentinian, and Theodosius, in which they denounced Ursinus as guilty of heresy and schism, and invoked the imperial favour on behalf of Damasus. They quoted Scripture (Tit. iii. 10; 2 John 10) in support of their appeal, and they said that "even if such authority were wanting,[4] yet your Imperial Clemency is to be implored, not to allow the Roman Church, —the head of the whole Roman World,—and the sacred Apostolic faith to be disturbed; for from it the rights of venerable admonition[5] (i.e. counsel and reproof) are diffused to all."

[2] "Cadaver putrescens." See above, vol. ii. p. 28.

[3] Labbe, Concilia, ii. 998. Ambrose, Epist. 11.

[4] In the editions of Ambrose this is incorrectly printed "Quid etiam si deforet? tamen" &c., instead of "quod etiam si deforet, tamen" &c., as it is in Labbe's Concilia, ii. 992.

[5] "In omnes venerandæ *commonitionis* jura dimanant." So Concilia, ii. p. 999. The editions of S. Ambrose have "*communionis*;" and the Abbé Fleury, in his Church History (xviii. 16), translates it "d'où le droit de la *communion* se répand sur toutes *les églises*;" and his learned annotator, Dr. (now Cardinal) Newman, in his notes to the translation of Fleury, i. p. 39, renders the words "thence flow *all* the *rights of venerable communion*;" and he adds, "The Roman Church, as containing the Apostolic faith, is here spoken of as the *source of communion*."

The meaning of the Bishops seems to be that Rome, which has a right to *admonish* others, ought to maintain the truth herself. As to the

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The Roman see was the principal patriarchal see of the Church Universal, and it was the only Patriarchal see in the Western Empire; no wonder that S. Ambrose and the thirty-one Italian Bishops with him should be desirous that it should be protected and maintained in the unity of faith and discipline.

A severe struggle now arose at Rome, in which Ambrose was a principal actor; and it concerned not only some doctrines of Christianity, but the foundations of Christianity itself.

In the Julian Senate-house, the Curia Julia, erected by the first of the Cæsars, and decorated by his successor Augustus, stood the Altar and golden Statue[6] of Victory, brought from Tarentum to Rome. The goddess was represented with flowing robes and expanded wings, and balanced on a globe, and bearing a laurel crown in her outstretched hand.[7] At her altar the Senators took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, and of obedience to the laws of the Empire; and all deliberations of the Senate were preceded by the offering of incense upon it. When the Emperor Constantius visited Rome, and was present in the Senate, the Altar and Statue were removed at his

reading, it is much more probable that transcribers would change *commonitionis* into *communionis* than *vice versâ*.

[6] Prudentius, in Symmach. ii. 48, speaking of this statue, says,—

"*aurea* quamvis
Marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pennas
Explicet,"

and as—

"pexo crine Virago
Nec nudo suspensa pede strophioque recincta,
Nec tumidas fluitante sinu vestita papillas."

[7] See Gibbon, xxviii. ch. 93, and a full collection of modern authorities on the subject in Dressel's note on Prudentius c. Symmachum, p. 213, ed. 1860.

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command;[8] but they were restored by Julian,[9] and not removed by Jovian, and were tolerated by Valentinian. But they were removed again by his son, the Emperor Gratian; and Gratian declined to comply with the request which was presented to him at Milan from the pagan Senators of Rome by the most eloquent heathen orator of his age, Q. Aurelius Symmachus. The Bishop of Milan was doubtless the Emperor's adviser in this refusal. Gratian also declined to restore the public provision for the maintenance of the Vestal Virgins which had been withdrawn by him.

But these acts of the Western Emperor were followed by a sudden reverse, which discouraged the Christians, and revived the hopes of the heathen. An insurrection broke out against Gratian in Britain; Magnus Clemens Maximus was proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers, and passing over into Gaul he engaged in battle near Paris with Gratian, who was deserted by his own troops, and fled to Lyons, where he was treacherously assassinated at a banquet by the governor Andragathius on Aug. 25, A.D. 383, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.[1] He was tenderly attached to S. Ambrose, who had been his father in the faith,[2] and whose name was on his lips at his death.

The fate of Gratian was regarded by the heathen as a judicial retribution upon him for his hostility to the national faith. His successor in the West, Valen-

[8] "Constantius jussit auferri." Ambrose, Epist. 18.

[9] See the history in Ambrose, Epist. 17 and 18, and in the Relatio Symmachi in Ambrose, Epist. 17.

[1] S. Ambrose in Ps. 61, § 23—25; Epist. 24; de Obitu Valentiniani, § 79; de Obitu Theodosii, § 37.

[2] S. Ambrose wrote his books "de Spiritu Sancto" at Gratian's request; and his books "de Fide" are addressed to him.

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tinian, was only about thirteen years old, and was menaced by Maximus, whose designs against Italy and Valentinian were only arrested by the prudent and courageous intervention of Ambrose, to whose protection Justina, the Arian mother of the youthful Emperor, committed her orphan son.[3] At the same time she cherished a secret enmity against him as a champion of the catholic faith. Symmachus was Prefect of Rome. He was also a Pontiff and Augur.

It seemed as if the deities of Rome were about to avenge the cause of their injured majesty, and to engage in a successful conflict for the ancient faith and worship against the modern form of religion which threatened to supplant them. The cause of each was represented by two noble champions. They were well matched; Symmachus on one side, and Ambrose on the other. Happily the pleadings of both have been preserved.[4]

Let me insert some extracts from both. "I approach you, my liege lords, Valentinian, Theodosius,[5] and Arcadius," said Symmachus, "in a double capacity, as Prefect of your city Rome, and as delegate of her citizens. We watch for your welfare. We defend the cause of the ancient religion which is the support of your Empire. Who is so bigoted a friend of barbarism as not to pay homage to the Altar of

[3] Ambrose, Epist. 24.

[4] In Ambrose, Epist. 17 and 18, addressed to the Emperor Valentinian the younger. The English reader may see a translation of the principal parts of them in Dr. Cave's Life of S. Ambrose, sect. 3, and Lardner's Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 456, ed. Lond. 1816; and they are well given in French by De Broglie, vi. 60.

[5] The appeal is made by him nominally to Theodosius and Arcadius, Emperors in the East, but it appears to have been presented only to Valentinian, Emperor of the West. Consequently S. Ambrose addressed his reply to Valentinian only.

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Victory? You owe many debts to Victory, and you will owe many more. Let those despise the power of Victory who have never been aided by it. Do not you forsake the patron of your own triumphs.

"Even if you do not dread the evil omen of offending her, at least have some respect for the ornaments of the Roman Curia. Leave to us who are old the things we revered when we were young. The love of habit is mighty.

"If this altar is no longer to remain, where shall we take our oath of allegiance to your laws? What religious fear will overawe perjury? True it is, the Universe is full of God; but the presence of religious objects restrains crime. That Altar of Victory is a common bond of concord and fidelity, and our decrees derive their greatest force from being sanctioned by those who are bound by an oath to do what is just. You are defended by our oath; do not, therefore, abolish it.

"The Emperor Constantius, it is alleged, removed this altar. Emulate that Emperor in his good deeds, but do not imitate him in what is evil. Constantius did not sequester the revenues of the Vestal Virgins or of our religious ceremonies. When at Rome he viewed with calmness the temples of the Eternal City, which were inscribed with the sacred names of our deities; and he inquired into their history. And while he himself professed another faith, he maintained our religion. And with reason. Every man has his own customs and ceremonies. God himself has assigned different divine protectors and religious rites to different cities. Every Nation, like every individual at his birth, has its own guardian

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genius.[6] National benefits are practical arguments on behalf of national deities. Since the reason of the choice is mysterious,[7] whence can we derive more surely the knowledge of a national deity than from the prosperity of the nation under its care? and if a religion has been sanctioned by long experience, let us be true to bygone ages, and let us follow our ancestors who were happy in following theirs.

"Imagine Rome herself to be standing before you. Listen to her words. Most illustrious Princes, Fathers of your country, revere my old age, to which I have been advanced by the piety of my religion. I will cleave to my ancestral ceremonies, for I do not repent of them. I will continue to live in my own way, for I am free. This religion of mine has conquered the world, and has subjected it to my laws. This religion of mine has repulsed Hannibal from my gates, and has driven the Gauls from my Capitol. Have I been reserved for this, that now in my old age I should be rebuked? Let me see what is to be substituted for my ancient faith. Tardy and contumelious is the correction of old age. We implore at your hands peace for our Country's gods (diis patriis, diis indigetibus).[8] What all men worship ought to

[6] Compare Horat. 2 Epist. ii. 187,—

"Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum
Naturæ deus humanæ, mortalis in unum-
Quodque caput."

[7] The text has "Cum ratio *omnis* in operto est" (p. 830, ed. Bened.), which can hardly be correct. Might we not read "ratio *ominis*"? i.e. "The *reason* of the divine *omen* declaring that such or such a deity should be honoured by such and such a nation, is veiled in obscurity (in operto); but the history of the nation proves the truth of the choice of the national religion."

[8] Symmachus is quoting Virgil, Georg. i. 498, "Dî patrii Indigetes," &c.

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be accounted one. We all look upward to the same stars; the heaven is common to us all; the same Universe embraces us. What matters it by what various knowledge men explore truth? We cannot all arrive at so great a mystery by the same road."

Symmachus then proceeds to plead for the revenues of the Vestal Virgins: "What benefit has accrued to your exchequer by the robbery of the Vestal Virgins? Those revenues which were bestowed by the most frugal princes have been confiscated by the most liberal. Heaven forbid that the purity of your treasury should be sullied by such acquisitions. Let the exchequer of your Empire be enriched by the spoils of enemies, not by the robbery of priests.

"You have sequestered estates bequeathed to them by the last will and testament of the dying. I entreat you—you who are High Priests of Justice—to restore the private inheritance to the sacred services of your own Metropolis. Let men be allowed to make their wills in confidence, and let them feel that the bequests made by them will be secure under the authority of Emperors not guilty of rapine. And yet, to the dishonour, be it said, of our national religion, on which our national prosperity depends, the endowments of the Vestal Virgins, which were guaranteed by long prescription, have remained intact till now; but at length they have fallen into the hands of degenerate bankers, who have perverted the revenues of holy chastity into the hire of vile porters.[9]

[9] *Bajuli*—perhaps bearers of corpses to burial. "Vespillones," Ammian. Marc. xiv. 7. The word is used in this sense by Augustine, Ep. 19. The contrast seems to be between what was pure and holy, and what was unclean.

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But these ungodly acts have not been allowed to pass unpunished. We have been visited by universal Dearth and Famine. This was no fault of the Earth, or of the seasons, or of the stars, or of physical causes, blight and mildew; no, the year was withered by our sacrilege. As long as religion was duly maintained among us, when were men ever forced to shake the branches of the oak[1] for food, and to live on the roots of herbs?

"We earnestly pray that you may be favoured by the secret guardianship of all religious sects; especially may that religion, which defended your ancestors, protect you, and be preserved to us.

"We plead the cause of that religion which preserved for you the imperial supremacy of your father (Valentinian the elder), and gave him a succession of legitimate heirs to the throne. He is now looking down from the starry citadel of heaven, and beholds the tears of Priests, and deems himself to be wronged by the violation of that religion which he preserved."

In reading this Appeal of Symmachus, the chosen advocate of Roman heathenism, we are struck by the altered tone of Paganism towards Christianity, since the days of Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, and Julian.

Not a word escapes from the lips of Symmachus which is derogatory to Christianity. Heathenism is content to be one of many religions; it is ready to make compromises and concessions; and it bases its claims for acceptance, on temporal, local, and national considerations. If Christianity had been

[1] Another silent reference to Virgil, Georgic i. 159,—
"Concussâque famem in silvis solabere quercu."

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contented with such a position, it would never have been molested. It would have had no Martyrs. But then it would not have been, what it is, a Revelation—indeed *the* full and final Revelation—from the One True God. And it would never have attained the universal and exclusive Supremacy which He designed for it. Its success was due to its uncompromising spirit, which the World denounces as intolerance.

The progress which Christianity had already made toward its final consummation is marked by this change in the tone of Heathenism.

Ambrose was fully sensible of this; and he shaped his reply accordingly.[2]

"Three propositions," he says to Valentinian, "are stated by the illustrious Prefect of Rome, which he deems to be unassailable. First, Rome claims of you her ancient religion; secondly, he affirms that revenues ought to be assigned to her Priests and Vestal Virgins; thirdly, he asserts that a general Famine prevailed as a consequence of the sequestration of those revenues.

"Symmachus represents to you Rome in tears, and claiming with a mournful voice what he calls her ancient worship. This Worship, he says, repulsed Hannibal from her walls, and drove the Gauls from the Capitol. Consequently he betrays the weakness of that religion, while he affirms its strength. For a long time Hannibal had insulted the religion of Rome, and had conquered her Gods fighting against him till he reached her gates. Why did the Gods allow him to besiege themselves, for whom the Roman armies fought?

"What shall I say of the Gauls, who would have

[2] Ambrose, Epist. 18.

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penetrated into the inmost recesses of the Capitol, and destroyed the vestiges of Rome, if their ingress had not been discovered by the cacklings of the sacred geese[3] of the citadel. Look, what kind of guardians the Roman temples had. Where was Jupiter then? Was he present in the geese, and did he utter his voice by their mouths?

"But I do not care to deny that the gods of Rome fought for her. Yet did not Hannibal worship the same gods? Let her choose which of the two she wills. If the gods conquered in the legions of Rome, they were conquered in the armies of Carthage; and if the armies of Rome triumphed over the gods, they could be of little use to her.

"Away then with that invidious complaint of the Roman people. Rome herself never authorized it. Rather let Rome expostulate with her people in such words as these: Why do you stain me daily with the profitless blood of innocent flocks and herds? The trophies of Victory are not to be sought in the entrails of animals, but in the hearts of men.

"I conquered the world by another discipline than that of your ritual. Camillus fought bravely when he slew the triumphant assailants of the Tarpeian rock, and recovered the standards of the Capitol. Your religion could not repel them; but he crushed them. Why should I speak of Attilius Regulus and Scipio Africanus, and other old Roman heroes? I hate the religion of the Neros. I will not mention the

[3] Virgil, Æn. viii. 655,—

"Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus *anser*
Porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat:
Galli per dumos aderant, arcemque tenebant,
Defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacæ."

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disasters of short-lived heathen Emperors. Where was then the Altar of Victory? What did it avail them?" Ambrose then introduces Rome, saying—

"Do not imagine that I am ashamed to repent. I do not blush to advance with the World. No one is too old to learn. Let that old age feel shame which cannot amend itself. I was once a barbarian with the barbarians in not knowing the true God. Your religion is sprinkled with the blood of beasts, and why do you seek for God in their entrails? Come now to me and learn on earth the warfare for heaven. On earth we live, but for heaven we fight. Let God, Who made me, teach me the mysteries of heaven. I cannot learn mysteries from man, who does not even know himself. Whom shall I believe concerning God rather than God Himself?

"Symmachus says that men cannot arrive at so great a secret as God by one and the same road. True, *men* cannot; but that secret, which you know not, God has revealed to us by His own divine Voice. We know it clearly from Him. Your case is therefore very different from ours. You implore peace for your gods from earthly Emperors; we implore peace for earthly Emperors from Christ. But if you deny Christ to be God, because you believe that He died; this your denial arises from your not knowing that His death was a death of the flesh, not of His Godhead, by which He has brought it to pass, that no one who believes in Him shall taste of death.

"But you say that the ancient altars ought to be restored to their images, and that the ancient ornaments ought to be given back to the temples. Ask this, if you will, from the votaries of that old superstition; but know that a Christian Emperor has learnt to honour

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the altar of Christ. Let the tongue of our Emperor sound the praise of Christ, and Christ alone, Whose presence he feels; for the heart of the King is in the hand of God (Prov. xxx. 1). If your religion were true, it would grow by worldly opposition, as ours has done. Our trials were our triumphs. When the heathen Powers decreed that Christians should be scourged, banished, and martyred, those Powers deemed our sufferings to be our punishments, but they became our victories. We have grown by injuries, by penury, by death. You do not think that your religion can survive, except by temporal emoluments."

He then deals with the plea of Symmachus on behalf of the seven Vestal Virgins, and of their salaries, and contrasts them with the large number of Christian Virgins who devoted themselves freely in a spirit of pure and holy love to the service of Christ and of the Church.[4]

He also replies to the argument on behalf of the heathen Priests and of their immunities, and shows that Christian Priests were under various disabilities by recent imperial Laws, such as that of Valentinian,[5] which forbade them to receive legacies from pious matrons; and such as that of Theodosius,[6] which required all who declined the civil burdens of Decurions, and entered the Christian Ministry, to renounce their temporal patrimony, and to provide a substitute

[4] S. Ambrose's sister Marcellina at Rome was one of those *Christian* Vestals.

[5] Valentiniani, Cod. Theodos. xvi. 2. 20. S. Jerome ad Nepot. Ep. 34.

[6] Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 104, de Decurionibus. Bingham, v. 15. 15. However, the Clergy enjoyed many privileges and immunities from temporal burdens. See Cod. Theod. xvi. 2. 1; xvi. 2. 8; xvi. 2. 10; xi. 16. 15; Bingham, v. 3. 14.

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for themselves, who would undertake their civil responsibilities.

"But, says Symmachus, the Roman Empire has been wasted with a famine since the altar of Victory was removed, and the revenues of the Vestal Virgins have been withdrawn. True, and how many famines did it suffer when that Altar stood, and while those Vestals ministered? And do we not know that the famine has now been succeeded by extraordinary plenty in most of our provinces? The harvests of Gaul are superabundant; Pannonia, Rhætia, Liguria, Venetia vie with one another in the luxuriance of their crops, and we rejoice in the produce of our vineyards. They say that the former dearth was due to our sacrilege; by the same argument may we not ascribe the present plenty to our faith?

"But they allege that old rites are to be preferred to new. Are we always to go back? We must then return to chaos, and relapse into barbarism, when the earth was yet uncultivated, and be plunged in darkness.

"No; we prefer creation to chaos; we prefer civilization to barbarism; we prefer seed-time and harvest to sterility; and we love light rather than darkness. And how much more true is this in spiritual things? Faith in Christ is our new creation; it is our civilization; it is our harvest and our vintage; it is the life and light of our souls.

"You are asked to bring back the heathen altar to the Senate-house, wherein Christians assemble in greater number[7] than heathens. The heathen have

[7] "*Plures* conveniunt Christiani." Ambrose asserts that the majority of the Senators were Christians. This assertion is controverted by Lardner, iv. 464, and Gibbon, chap. xxviii. V. p. 96 (who says that this was a "contradiction to common sense"). Many perhaps were

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HOBART HALL, AT UNIV. OF MICH.

altars in their temples,[8] and they have sacrifices there. But the claim they make for this Altar of Victory in the Senate is an insult to the faith of the Christians. Is it to be borne that where Christians meet, there heathens should offer sacrifice? Let Christians, says Symmachus, behold the smoke of sacrifices against their will with their eyes, and listen to the music with their ears, and inhale the incense with their nostrils, and imbibe the ashes with their mouths, and let the embers kindled on our sacrificial hearths sprinkle the faces of those who abhor them. Are not the heathen content with their baths, their arcades, their streets, and with the squares of the city, which is besieged with idols? Are we not to have common rights in a common council? Are we to be bound by oaths imposed by those who swear, and cause us to swear, by false gods? If we refuse, we seem to be guilty of a lie; if we consent, we commit sacrilege.

"But where, he asks, shall we take our oaths of allegiance to you our liege lords, and to your laws, if this Altar is not restored? Does your royal Will, enshrined in your imperial laws, collect votes in its favour, and bind our consciences, by means of heathen sacrifices? God, Who dwells in our hearts, is more present to us than anything that is visible to our eyes.

"The Senate recognizes you as its President. It comes together for your sake. It offers its conscience to you, not to the deities of the heathen. It prefers

Christians in heart, who did not openly avow themselves as such. If the Christian senators at Rome were in the minority, the courage and success of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, were more remarkable.

[8] Observe that what was forbidden by Theodosius in the East was openly practised in the West. Cf. above, p. 4.

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you to its own children—but not to its Faith. If its Faith is safe, which preserves your Empire—this is the Love which is to be craved by you from us, for it is stronger than your Empire itself."

The Emperor Valentinian, in his privy Council, listened to this reply of Ambrose, and dismissed the appeal of Symmachus.[9]

The triumph of Christianity over Heathenism at Rome, its principal stronghold, was due to the Bishop of Milan; it was achieved by his uncompromising constancy and unflinching courage, and by his zeal for the truth, and by his faith in Christ.

To the credit of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and of the Christian Senators, represented by him, they committed the management of the cause to Ambrose. The triumph of his oratory was celebrated by a Bishop of Pavia, Ennodius, in an epigrammatic distich, which recorded that "Victory[1] took away the palm of eloquence from her friend Symmachus, and that she passed over to Ambrose; and that the anger of the goddess was more favourable than her love."

The attempt made by Heathenism in this year (A.D. 384) was repeated in an appeal to Valentinian four years afterwards, but similarly without success.[2]

But a new struggle now awaited Ambrose in his own

[9] Ambrose, Epist. 57.

[1] "Dicendi palmam Victoria tollit amico;
Transit * ad Ambrosium; plus favet ira Deæ."
Ennodius in Migne's Patrologia, lxiii. 360.

[2] Ambrose, Ep. 57. It had a temporary triumph under Arbogastes the usurper, and in Eugenius, set up by him, A.D. 393, after the death of Valentinian; ibid.

* Some copies read "Atque dat Ambrosio," which seems better.

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city Milan. He had to contend against the Emperor Valentinian, whom he had lately won over by his eloquence, and against his Arian mother Justina, under whose sway that Emperor was.

The history of this conflict has been written by Ambrose himself in letters to his sister Marcellina at Rome.

The peace which Ambrose had negotiated between the Emperor Valentinian and the usurper Maximus was detrimental to himself.

No sooner were the alarms of Justina and of her son dispelled, than she engaged in a religious war against her benefactor and against the Church, and on behalf of Arianism. In the spring of the year 385, she demanded from him in the first instance, for the use of the Arians, the Portian Basilica, a church which was then outside the walls of the city, but the site of which has now been enclosed within the precincts of modern Milan, and is in the street of Saint Victor. The Portian basilica has been succeeded by a church in that street called "San Vittore al Corpo."[3]

But not content with this demand, she next claimed the "Basilica Nova," which was larger, and within the walls, and which had been built by S. Ambrose himself,[4] and called the Church of the Apostles. It

[3] It stands at the western verge of the City. It is supposed by Italian Antiquaries to have been called *Portiana*, from Portius, a son of Oldanus, a Christian senator, and to have been the Church into which the Emperor Theodosius, after his repentance, was at length re-admitted to communion by S. Ambrose. Cp. Mabillon, Iter Italicum, p. 17. The gates of this Church—at first closed against Theodosius—are said by some to have been transported to *S. Ambrogio*, the church dedicated by him to S. Gervasius and Protasius, and which is a little to the east of *S. Vittore*.

[4] S. Ambrose has thus described it in four Latin lines, which may be seen in Biraghi, Inni di Sant' Ambrogio, p. 141, Milan, 1862 :—

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was destroyed by Attila, and is supposed to have stood on the site now occupied by the magnificent Duomo, or Cathedral, in the heart of the city of Milan, where rests the body of one of the greatest of the successors of S. Ambrose, Carlo Borromeo, and near which was the Baptistery[5] in which S. Augustine was baptized on April 24, A.D. 387.

"I told the courtiers of the Emperor who delivered to me this message," says S. Ambrose, "as I was in duty bound, that the temple of God could not be given up by His priest."

This was on April 4, the Friday before Palm Sunday. On that Sunday, when S. Ambrose was employed in the "old Basilica," in preparing Candidates for Baptism (which they were to receive on Easter Day), by explaining to them the Creed, he was told that some imperial officers were engaged in hanging up the royal curtains (vela[6]) in the Portian Basilica, in token of its surrender to the Crown. Some of the people left the Church, and went to the Basilica. "I," adds, Ambrose, "continued the sacred office, and began to say mass."[7] The people, who sided with

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"Condidit Ambrosius templum, Dominoque sacravit
Nomine Apostolico, munere, relliquiis.
Forma Crucis templum est; templum victoria Christi.
Sacra triumphalis signat imago locum."

[5] It was near the "New Great Basilica" (the present Duomo), and to the south of the Basilica of S. Thecla, called the "old Basilica." It was in the Basilica vetus (i.e. of S. Thecla) that S. Ambrose preached on Palm Sunday, and expounded the Creed to the Catechumens who were to be baptized in the baptistery near it. "Ego in Basilica veteri totum exegi diem." Epist. xxii. 10, to his sister. Biraghi, Inni di Sant' Ambrogio, pp. 35, 135, 137.

[6] Also called "cortinæ." Ep. xx. c. 19. They were like flags and banners, bearing the imperial effigy. Cod. Justin. ii. Tit. xvi. 2.

[7] "*Missam* facere cœpi." This is said by some to be the earliest

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S. Ambrose, were agitated; many tradesmen were fined and cast into prison; others were menaced with death unless the Basilica was surrendered. The imperial nobles came to the Bishop of Milan, and urged him to give it up. The Emperor, they said, was only asserting his rights as sovereign lord. "I answered them thus:—If the Emperor asks of me what is mine—my estate, my money, in short anything that I have—here it is; I will not refuse it, although whatever I have, belongs not to me, but to the poor. But what is God's, is not subject to the Emperor's power. If you want my patrimony, take it; if my body, here it is. If you wish to carry me to prison or to death, here I am; I will gladly go with you."

He remained during Palm Sunday in the old Church, near the Baptistery,[8] and retired at night to his own house.

The next morning he preached on the book of Job, and, during his sermon, it was announced that in consequence of the catholic demonstration on the part of the people, and even of the soldiers, the imperial hangings had been taken down from the Portian Basilica.

But while Ambrose and the Catholics were rejoicing, the Empress, being exasperated by the resistance of the people and the Bishop, was preparing fresh measures of aggression against him. She persuaded her youthful son Valentinian to issue an Edict on Jan. 23, A.D. 386,

passage where this word *missa* is found in the sense of Holy Communion. This is doubted by Casaubon, Exc. Baron. p. 515. However, the origin of the word is unquestionable; it merely meant *missio, dismissal* (Gr. ἄφεσις, ἀπόλυσις), and was applied to both parts of the Communion Office. See above, vol. ii. p. 279, and Bingham, Antiquities, xiii. ch. i. 2—4.

[8] See above, note, p. 36.

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drawn up by Auxentius,[9] whom the Arians acknowledged as Bishop of Milan. In this law[1] the assemblies of the Arians were authorized, and the penalty of death was denounced against any who disturbed them.

This decree, which contravened the legislation of Theodosius in the East, and placed the heretical Synod of Ariminum on a par with the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople, was followed by a requisition to Ambrose from the Emperor Valentinian himself, commanding him to appear before his Consistory, and to choose Judges, as Auxentius the Arian Bishop had done, and to plead against Auxentius before the Tribunal so constituted, under the presidency of the Emperor. If he would not submit to this arbitration, he was to retire where he would, and surrender the see of Milan to Auxentius.

"To this challenge,"[2] says S. Ambrose, in his letter to Valentinian, "I replied by appealing to the language and laws of your own august Father, Valentinian (the elder), who desired that in cases of Faith and of Ecclesiastical Order such persons should sit as Judges as were neither incompetent in office nor dissimilar in jurisdiction; that is to say, that Bishops should be judged by Bishops. And further, even if a Bishop were accused in any other respect—for instance, as to a question of morals—his will and pleasure was that the cognizance of such cases should be referred to the judicature of Bishops.

"My gracious Liege Lord," he added, "when did you ever hear that in a cause of doctrine laymen should sit in judgment on a Bishop? If we examine Scripture and the testimony of Antiquity, we should

[9] Ambrose, Epist. 22.

[1] Cod. Theod. xvi. 1. 4.

[2] Ambrose, Epist. 21, addressed to Valentinian.

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find that in such matters Bishops are judges of Emperors, and not Emperors of Bishops.

"When you are older, you will learn what sort of a Bishop that man is,[3] who casts down the rights of Bishops at the feet of Laymen. Your father, who had been baptized and was of mature age, said, 'It is not for me to be a Judge of Bishops.' Your Majesty, which has not yet received the blessing of Baptism, claims to sit in judgment upon them. Am I to plead before Judges chosen by Auxentius, who profess the heresy of Ariminum as he does? No; I abhor that Synod; I cleave to the faith of Nicæa, from which neither death nor the sword shall ever part me. This is the faith of the most blessed Emperor, your parent,[4] Theodosius. This is the faith of Gaul, and of Spain, which hold it, together with the pious confession of the Divine Spirit.[5]

"If Auxentius appeals to a Council of the Church, in order that he may dispute before it concerning the faith, I shall be ready to meet him as soon as I hear that the Council has been summoned, although it is not necessary that so many Bishops should be wearied for the sake of one man, who though he were even an angel from heaven, ought not to be preferred to the peace of the Church.

"Receive therefore graciously, O Emperor, this announcement of my resolve. I cannot come to your Consistory. I have not learnt to plead in the Consistory except for your rights. I do not pry into the secrets

[3] He refers to Auxentius.

[4] Theodosius is called the parent of Valentinian by an official euphemism. Cp. the Benedictine note on Ambrose, Epist. 51.

[5] I.e. together with the article on the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, added at Constantinople. Here is a proof that the Constantinopolitan Creed was now received by the West as well as the East.

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of the Court, and I cannot be a litigant within the walls of the Palace."

Having made this reply, he retired to the Church, where he and the people were besieged by soldiers. His congregation feared that he would be arrested and taken from them. He assured them in his Sermon that he would never leave them,[6] even though by remaining with them he had to encounter death. "When I was asked to deliver up the vessels of the Church, I replied that I would gladly give what was mine, but I could not give away what belonged to God, and what I was bound to defend; and that I was doing service to the Emperor by withholding from him what he ought not to ask of me, nor I to give to him. He may take away my life, but he shall not rob me of my faith.

"If he asks for tribute, I do not refuse it; if for my land, let him have it; though it rather belongs to the poor, who are my stipendiary soldiers, and defend me by their prayers.

"They allege that the people are bewitched by my hymns.[7] I do not deny it. These chants are potent enchantments. And why? because nothing is more powerful than the confession of faith in the Blessed Trinity which proceeds daily from the lips of the people. They all vie with one another in zeal for the true faith. They have learnt by my hymns to preach the doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy

[6] Sermo de Basilicis tradendis attached to Epist. 21.

[7] "*Carminibus;*" used in a double sense, verses and enchantments. S. Ambrose taught the people to sing his hymns by night, when they were besieged with him in the Church. See Paullin. Vit. Ambros. cap. 13: "Hoc in tempore primum antiphonæ, hymni ac vigiliæ in Ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari cœperunt." Augustine was melted into tears on hearing them. Confess. ix. 6 and 7. On them, see below, p. 80.

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Ghost. And thus all have become teachers, who before were hardly able to be learners.

"I am also charged with disloyalty. As if anything could be more honourable to the Emperor than to call him, as I do, a son of the Church. The Emperor is not above the Church, but within it. A good Emperor does not refuse the help of the Church, but asks for it. Some threaten us with fire, sword, and banishment. Be it so. We who are the servants of Christ have learnt not to fear; to us nothing is terrible."

S. Ambrose relates[8] that in this critical emergency he was comforted by a divine intervention. The people asked him to consecrate a new church in the same manner as he had consecrated the great Church already mentioned, which was near the Roman Gate, and on the site of which the present Cathedral stands.[9] He replied that he would do so, if he found any relics of Martyrs. He had a presentiment that he would make such a discovery; and S. Augustine asserts that the place of it was revealed to him in a dream.[1] That place was the Church of two primitive martyrs, S. Nabor and Felix,[2] now (it is said) the Church of S. Francis.

On the 19th of June, A.D. 386, the remains of two martyrs of Milan, Protasius and Gervasius (supposed by some to have suffered under Nero) were found by S. Ambrose, who mentions[3] that the anniversary of the discovery was kept—as it is now; and he

[8] Ambrose, Epist. 22, to his sister Marcellina.

[9] See above, p. 36.

[1] See Augustine, Confess. ix. 7; de Civ. Dei, xxii. 8.

[2] Who are mentioned also by S. Ambrose in Lucam, c. vii., and on whom he wrote a hymn beginning

"Victor, Nabor, Felix, pii
Mediolani Martyres,"

the fifth Hymn in the collection of the learned Luigi Biraghi, Milan, 1862, p. 74.

[3] In Ps. cxviii. Serm. 6.

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wrote a Hymn, still extant, to celebrate it,[4] in which he mentions several miracles that he asserts to have been there wrought; the restoration of a lunatic to soundness of mind, and the recovering of sight by a blind man named Severus, who afterwards became sexton of the Church where the bodies of the martyrs were laid; and the healing of demoniacs. He makes the same statements in a letter to his sister; and they are in the main confirmed by S. Augustine. He repeated these assertions publicly at the time in two Sermons; and his contemporary biographer, Paullinus,[5] records them; and they appear to be in substance corroborated by the facts that Arianism was silenced, and that the persecution ceased, and that S. Ambrose was left in peace.

Whether the mind of the military usurper Maximus in Gaul was affected by these events, we cannot tell; but he wrote a letter to Valentinian on behalf of the Catholic faith, and against the Arian heresy.[6]

Certain it is that a religious festival on June 19 was then instituted to commemorate them, which was observed in various parts of the West, and continues to this day. S. Augustine, preaching as Bishop on this anniversary at Hippo in Africa,[7] uses these words: "To-day, brethren, we celebrate the memory of the holy martyrs of Milan, Protasius and Gervasius. We celebrate the day on which the death of His saints

[4] Beginning—

"Grates Tibi Jesu novas,
Novi repertor muneris,
Protasio Gervasio
Martyribus inventis, cano."

It is the sixth Hymn in Biraghi's Collection, p. 81.

[5] Vit. Ambros. c. 16 and 17.

[6] Theodoret, v. 14. Labbe, Concilia, ii. 1031.

[7] Serm. 286.

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was found to be precious in the sight of the Lord by means of Ambrose the Bishop, that man of God. I was then at Milan, and was witness of this truth, attested by the miracles there wrought." He then describes what he saw, and he gives further details concerning them in other places of his works.[8]

Different opinions have been and will be expressed on the credibility of these statements.[9] By some they are rejected with supercilious disdain as fabulous. But there may be superstition in scepticism. There may be as much credulity in believing that Ambrose and Augustine and Paullinus and the Church at Milan and the Catholics of the time, who observed this anniversary, were deceived or deceived others, as in supposing that in a time of severe trial of the faith in the Godhead of His own Son, Almighty God intervened in an extraordinary manner to vindicate it, and to rescue his servants who confessed it. That the result was such cannot be denied.

The Church in which these remains repose, and which was called from them the Church of S. Protasius and S. Gervasius, now bears the name of S. Ambrose himself, "Chiesa di Sant' Ambrogio." It is said that the body of S. Ambrose rests beneath the altar of the Church, having been buried there on

[8] Aug. Confess. ix. 7; de Civitate Dei, xxii. 8.

[9] On one side see Tillemont, x. p. 186; Fleury, xviii. 47; Dr. Newman on Ecclesiastical Miracles, p. clxxxv. On the other, the writers quoted by Canon Robertson on Church History, book ii. ch. v. p. 385; Dean Milman, History of Christianity, book iii. ch. x. vol. iii. p. 160. Whether the effects produced by the translation of these relics led to imitations of this act is uncertain; but it is remarkable that in this year 386, Theodosius published a decree against the removal of human bodies, and against the sale of the remains of supposed Martyrs (Cod. Theod. ix. 17. 7), and S. Augustine mentions vagrant monks who dealt in pretended relics. Augustine de Opere Monach. c. 28.

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Easter Day, A.D. 397, near the remains of SS. Gervasius and Protasius; and that his sister Marcellina reposes by his side; and also that his brother Satyrus rests near another altar called by his name. The pictures which adorned the Church were described in distichs by S. Ambrose, which are still extant.[1]

This Church is the most interesting in Milan.[2] In the choir of the Church are ancient Mosaics representing events in the life of S. Ambrose, and in the apse behind the altar is an ancient marble throne for the Archbishop of Milan, formerly flanked with stalls on each side for his suffragans, who were eighteen in number; an authentic representation of the early Church Government established in northern Italy—wholly independent of Rome. The same was the case in the Picenian Province, in the Flaminian, in the Æmilian, and in the Venetian, in which respectively there were sees of suffragans, presided over by Metropolitans, none of whom were dependent for election, confirmation, or consecration on the Bishop of Rome.[3]

[1] Biraghi, Inni, p. 145.

[2] I have attempted to describe it in my "Tour in Italy," 118—128. It is more fully delineated in a work on the Basilica Ambrogiana printed at Milan in 1837.

[3] All these Episcopal sees, and all the sees of Italy and Sicily, have been recently surrendered by the King and Parliament of Italy to the Roman Pontiff, who now nominates Bishops to them all; and thus unhappily the ancient rights of the People, the Clergy of all the Dioceses of Italy, and of the Crown have been sacrificed, and the fierceness of the struggle between Ultramontanism and Infidelity has been intensified and aggravated, which, it is to be feared, will involve Italy in anarchy and confusion, unless vigorous measures are adopted to avert it. Twenty years ago the Author of this volume published a warning against this surrender, in the "Three Letters" mentioned above, p. 17, which were translated into Italian at the time, and obtained a wide circulation. The translator was offered a bribe of silence by a high papal functionary.

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Maximus, who had usurped the Imperial name and authority, in Britain, Germany, and Gaul, had, as we have seen, interceded on behalf of S. Ambrose, and of the Catholic faith, with Valentinian and his Arian mother, Justina. Maximus also wrote a letter[4] to Siricius, Bishop of Rome, in which he assured him of his own devotion to the Church, and of his zeal against heresy. He had shown, as he imagined, both these qualities by helping some Bishops of Spain to exterminate Priscillianism, and even by putting some of its partisans to death.[5]

Hoping to ingratiate himself with the Catholics by these measures, and relying on their support, and presuming on the youth and weakness of Valentinian, and having been even recognized as an associate in the Empire by Theodosius, Maximus now meditated an inroad into Italy.

Valentinian and Justina were alarmed by this threat of aggression; and in their panic they resorted again to Ambrose, who had formerly restrained Maximus in his career of victory. Ambrose loyally dismissed at once from his mind the injuries which he had received from Valentinian, and the flatteries with which he had been caressed by Maximus, and proceeded to Treves, where the Usurper held his court.[6] He boldly rebuked him there for being accessory to the murder of his master the Emperor Gratian, and for taking advantage of the weakness of Valentinian, and for rebellion against his lawful sovereign;[7] and

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 318. [5] In Labbe's Concil. ii. 1031.

[6] Ambrose de Obitu Valentin. 28 and 39, and Epist. ad Valentin. 24. Paullin. Vit. Ambros. 19.

[7] "Usurpator bellum infert, Imperator jus suum tuetur." Ambrose, Epist. 24.

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urged him to deliver up Gratian's body for honourable burial.

Ambrose was a strenuous champion of the faith against heresy; but he refused to communicate[8] with those Bishops of the Court at Treves, who had not deterred Maximus from putting the Priscillian heretics to death.

S. Martin, Bishop of Tours—also a bold champion of the Church against heathenism and heresy—acted in the same spirit; and only at last consented to communicate with those Bishops, in order to save some Catholics from death.[9]

These examples are instructive; and it would have been well for Christendom if they had never been forgotten by Bishops of the Church.

Ambrose incurred danger by his boldness, and it was feared by many that he would not return home in safety;[1] but having faithfully discharged the duties of his embassy, he wrote to Valentinian, and gave him timely notice of his danger from Maximus, and bade him "beware of a man who under the garb of peace was meditating war."

Valentinian and his mother profited by the advice of Ambrose. Happily for them the East was at peace under the vigorous rule of Theodosius. At the close of A.D. 387, Maximus had crossed the Alps, and endeavoured to seize on Valentinian at Aquileia, and soon afterwards took possession of Rome; but Valentinian escaped with his mother to Thessalonica, whither Theodosius came from Constantinople to receive them.[2]

[8] Ambrose, Epist. 24, and Epist. 261.

[9] Sulp. Sever. Vit. S. Mart. i. c. 23; Dial. ii. 6; iii. 11. In Migne's Patrologia, tom. xx.

[1] Epist. 24 ad fin.

[2] Zosim. iv. 42. Rufin. xi. 16.

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Theodosius had recently suffered a double domestic loss in the death of his daughter Pulcheria, and his much-loved wife, the saintly Flaccilla,[3] who died in the year 385,[4] leaving two sons, Arcadius the future Emperor of the East, and Honorius of the West.

Before engaging in his campaign, Theodosius sent a deputation to consult the anchorite John of Egypt, who was supposed to have the gift of prophecy,[5] and who assured him of success. He afterwards resorted again to the counsel of the same hermit in A.D. 393, when he marched against another usurper in Italy—Eugenius;[6] and received a reply which was also realized by the event.

Theodosius sent to a Christian hermit—supposed to be gifted with prophecy—for advice and prediction concerning a campaign. How great a change had been made in the world since another Emperor—Julian—not thirty years before, had sent for a similar purpose to the oracles of Delphi and Dodona.

Theodosius having married Galla, the sister of Valentinian, (probably in A.D. 387,)[7] marched from Thessalonica to Pannonia, and defeated Maximus, who fell back upon Aquileia, where he was deserted by his own soldiers, and was put to death on July 28, A.D. 388.

Theodosius next proceeded from Aquileia to Milan, where he spent the winter, and remained there till May, A.D. 389, in which year, on June 13, he entered

[3] See above, p. 3.

[4] See the authorities in Tillemont, Empereurs, v. pp 252—254, 740, 835.

[5] August. de Civ. Dei, v. 26. Cassian. Hist. iv. 25.

[6] Soz. vii. 24. Rufin. xi. 32.

[7] Tillemont, Empereurs V., pp. 259, 260, 741. She was the mother of the celebrated Galla Placidia.

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Rome in triumph, with Honorius his son, the future Emperor of the West.

He refused to restore the Altar of Victory to the Curia,[8] and he proclaimed the supremacy of Christianity as the national religion of the Empire; and brought the majority of the Senators to acknowledge that supremacy, not only in their own persons and families, but by a legislative decree.[9]

Justina, mother of Valentinian, died in the autumn of 388, and the influence of Arianism in the West seems to have passed away with her. Theodosius with disinterested generosity ceded the whole of the West, which he had rescued from the grasp of the usurper Maximus, to Valentinian her son, whom he exhorted to emancipate himself from the Arian heresy as the cause of his temporal calamities, and to cleave to the Catholic faith as the best safeguard of the throne.[1]

This expedition of Theodosius to the West, for the purpose of protecting the weak against the strong, and of quelling insurrection, like the other subsequent campaign of the same generous soldier and sovereign, against the usurper Eugenius, in order to punish the death of Valentinian, who was basely murdered by Arbogastes, the rebel patron of Eugenius (on May 15, A.D. 392), was not only a memorable event in the history of the Roman Empire, but it was an era in that of the Church, as bringing into intimate relation two great men, who exercised a powerful influence over its destinies—Theodosius, Emperor of the East; and Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

[8] Ambrose, Ep. 57, ad Eugen.

[9] Prudentius c. Symmach. i. 545, and the remarks of Gibbon, chap. xxviii. vol. v. p. 100, note.

[1] Theodoret, v. 15.

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The record of the acts of Theodosius after the riot at Antioch in 387, when the populace was exasperated by imposition of new taxes, and wreaked their wrath in the destruction of the statues of the Emperor, and what affected him more deeply, of his departed wife Flaccilla, will find a more convenient place in the history of the work of S. Chrysostom, at that time the great preacher at Antioch, and afterwards Bishop of Constantinople (chap. xviii.). The energetic measures of Theodosius for the destruction of Heathenism in Egypt and elsewhere, in A.D. 389, have already been described.[2]

In Theodosius and Ambrose are exemplified certain views of Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity in a remarkable manner, perhaps without a parallel in the history of the ancient Church.

The nearest approach to it in our own Church was in the days of King Charles the First and Archbishop Laud. But Theodosius and Ambrose were not embarrassed by sectarianism, or restrained by Parliaments. They had free scope for their energies. And Charles the First and Archbishop Laud in their theories of the Royal Supremacy in relation to the Church—which were expressed by the Archbishop in the Declaration prefixed in his royal Master's name to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion in the Book of Common Prayer—asserted claims for the supremacy of the Crown in Ecclesiastical matters, which would probably not have been put forth by Theodosius or admitted by Ambrose.

Ambrose had expressed his own opinions on this subject.[3] The Emperor (he had told Valentinian)

[2] Pp. 2—9.

[3] Above, p. 41.

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ought to regard it as a privilege that he is a son of the Church; and ought to remember that he himself is "intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam." In a word, Ambrose seems to have regarded the Emperor as occupying the place of a Hebrew King, bound to exercise his royal authority for the glory of God, and in obedience to God's will, as declared to him by the Prophets of God.

In this respect Ambrose has been regarded by some as a precursor of the most puissant Pontiffs of Rome, such as Gregory VII. and Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. But Ambrose knew nothing of any Papal supremacy as existing in himself or in any Bishop of the Church. He did not claim obedience as a Bishop of any particular see, but as declaring the mind of the Catholic Church, the mystical Body of Christ.[4]

The opinions of Ambrose on these questions were brought to light by such circumstances as the following:—

A Jewish synagogue at Callinicus in Osrhoëné in North-Western Mesopotamia was burnt down by Christians, instigated by their Bishop. And a place of worship belonging to the Valentinian heretics was destroyed by some Christian monks.

[4] The Western theory of the Royal Supremacy in the fourth and fifth centuries, was very different from the Eastern; and when the Imperial power passed away, and no other civil restraints controlled the Ecclesiastical authority, it developed itself into the Papacy. This would have been impossible in the East, where the Emperors kept the Ecclesiastical authority in subordination to themselves. The theory of our divines holds a place between the two. With the East it recognized a Royal Supremacy, but modified and controlled in its exercise by ecclesiastical and temporal laws—in accordance with the precepts of Holy Scripture and the decrees of the Church Universal.

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When the Military Governor of the province consulted Theodosius on these outrages, the Emperor[5] ordered the Bishop to rebuild the synagogue, and the monks to be severely punished for their offence.

This occurred in the year 388, when Theodosius was at Milan, and Ambrose at Aquileia.

Ambrose addressed an earnest remonstrance to the Emperor on this sentence: "Suppose it to be true that in excess of zeal[6] a Bishop burnt the synagogue, what then? Ought he to rebuild it? No; this would be a denial of the faith.[7] To what a strait have you reduced him; either to be an apostate or a martyr."

The contention of S. Ambrose was that the Jewish synagogue "was a seat of misbelief, a house of impiety, a refuge of madness, which God Himself had condemned; and that a Christian Bishop would be a traitor to God if he rebuilt it; and that the Emperor himself would be disloyal to Christ, Who had crowned his arms with victory, if he compelled the Bishop to do so."

This written appeal was dismissed by Theodosius, but Ambrose did not desist from his expostulation. When he came back to Milan, and Theodosius was present in the Church, and about to receive the communion, S. Ambrose took occasion, in the course of his sermon, to repeat his remonstrance, and implored him, in consideration of the benefits he had received from Christ, to show his thankfulness to Him by public acts.

Theodosius understood the allusion, and when he took notice of it, Ambrose replied, "Yes, I did refer

[5] Ambrose, Epist. 40, addressed to Theodosius; and 41, addressed to his sister. [6] Ep. 40. [7] Prævaricatio.

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to you in my sermon, but it was for your own good." "Well," replied the Emperor, "it is true, my sentence was rather hard on the Bishop; but the monks are great offenders." "I entreated him" (writes Ambrose to his sister) "to set my conscience at ease, and to enable me to offer the Eucharistic sacrifice for him with comfort. He assured me that the matter would be set right, and on my earnest solicitation pledged his troth that it should be so. I went to the altar with joy, and felt the divine presence with me—and all was well."

Ambrose in the overflow of his heart wrote a letter to his sister, and gave her a full account, from which this narrative is taken.

It may be here mentioned that Theodosius afterwards, in A.D. 393, enacted a law[8] against those who, on pretence of zeal, destroyed and pillaged synagogues of the Jews.

Another characteristic incident is related of Ambrose in connexion with Theodosius, when in the church at Milan on a festival.

The Emperor, having brought his offering to the altar, was remaining within the sacrarium; and being asked by Ambrose the reason, he replied that he waited there to receive the communion. On this the Bishop intimated to him by the Archdeacon that the Chancel was reserved for Priests, and that he must retire from it. Theodosius graciously accepted the message, and said, in explanation of what he had done, that it had been his custom to communicate in the chancel at Constantinople.

When he returned to Constantinople, we are in-

[8] Cod. Theod. xvi. 8. 9, in which he says, "Judæorum sectam nullâ lege prohibitam satis constat."

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formed by Theodoret,[9] that he adopted the custom of Milan, at which the Archbishop Nectarius expressed surprise; but Theodosius answered, "I have learnt the difference between a Prince and a Bishop; and for this I have to thank Ambrose, who is the only person whom I know that is worthy to be called a Bishop."

S. Ambrose had contended against Symmachus, the eloquent advocate of heathenism. He had resisted Arianism, patronized by the imperial power of Valentinian and Justina. But a more painful conflict now awaited him; a conflict with his best friend, and generous protector, the loyal Champion of the Catholic Church, who was six years older than himself, the Emperor Theodosius.

In the year 387, Theodosius had spared the riotous insurgents at Antioch, on the intercession of Flavian the Bishop; and probably some of his courtiers, such as the ruthless Rufinus, taunted him with his ill-advised clemency towards them, when in A.D. 390 the news reached him at Milan of a more outrageous affray at Thessalonica, in which the imperial governor Botheric had been savagely murdered by the mob for doing his duty.[1]

Ambrose, who was at Milan[2] together with other Bishops, endeavoured to pacify the Emperor, and succeeded for a time; but Theodosius was afterwards induced by Rufinus to revoke his pardon,[3] and even to give order that a large number of

[9] Theodoret, v. 17.

[1] Theodoret, v. 17. Soz. vii. 25. Rufin. Hist. xi. 18.

[2] Ambrose, Epist. 42.

[3] Ambrose, Epist. 51. Aug. de Civ. Dei, xxvi. 7. Paullin. Vit. Ambr. 24.

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the citizens of Thessalonica—not less than 7000 —should be put to death for this popular insurrection.

On receiving the news of this horrible massacre, Ambrose was overwhelmed with sorrow, and retired from the city for a short time; and from the place of his retreat addressed a letter to his imperial master, who had then returned to Milan. The following are some paragraphs of it:—

"*To the most August Emperor Theodosius, Ambrose Bishop.*

"The remembrance of your long friendship is sacred to me, and I bear in mind those benefits which you have graciously conferred on others at my request.

"What should I now do? Should I be silent? If so, most miserable should I be; my conscience would be gagged; my tongue would be torn from me. And where would be the words of the prophet (Ezek. iii. 18), 'If thou dost not warn the wicked, that wicked man will die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hand?'

"Listen therefore, most illustrious Emperor, to my words. Thou art a zealous champion of the faith, I cannot deny it; thou fearest God, I do not dispute it; but thou hast an impetuous temper, which, if any one tries to appease it, is softened to pity; but if others excite it, is more exasperated, and cannot be restrained. Would that you had been left to yourself; your own piety would have corrected the fault of your nature.

"An event has taken place at Thessalonica without

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a parallel in history. I was not able to prevent it, though I represented it to you as most atrocious before it took place, and you yourself regarded it as such, and when too late you wished to prevent it.

"Will you now be ashamed to do that which David did, who was a king, a prophet, and an ancestor of Christ? Be not impatient with me for saying with Nathan, 'Thou art the man' (2 Sam. xii. 7). If you listen and say, 'I have sinned against the Lord,' the Lord will put away thy sin; thou shalt not die (ibid. 13, 14)."

Ambrose then cites other examples of royal and patriarchal repentance, and says, "I have written this to you not to overwhelm you, but that these examples may excite you to imitate them, and to take away sin from your kingdom by humbling your soul before God. You are a man: temptation has assailed you; conquer it now by remorse. Sin is not taken away except by tears and repentance. No angel, no archangel can take it away. The Lord only can do it. He alone could say, 'I am with you alway' (Matt. xxviii. 20); and He does not pardon the sinner except he repents.

"I implore you, I exhort you, I admonish you; I mourn that you, you who wert once an example of unrivalled piety and clemency, and who didst not allow single persons when guilty to perish, are not now grieved when so many innocent ones have been cut off. You were victorious in battle; you were praiseworthy in many things; but the crowning glory of your acts was piety. The Devil grudged you this glory. Conquer him now, while you are able to do so.

"I owe much to your piety, and cannot be guilty of

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ingratitude to you; I cannot be contumacious to you, but I fear for you; and I dare not offer the sacrifice of the altar, if you propose to approach it.

"I write with my own hand what your own eyes alone may read. You will then make your offering, when it will be pleasing to God. I should rejoice in the favour of the Emperor, and would comply with your request if it were possible. Prayer itself is a sacrifice, and brings pardon from God; but the sacrifice of the altar in such a case would offend Him. The former would be a sign of humility; the latter of contempt. God Himself says it: 'To obey is better than sacrifice' (1 Sam. xv. 22). I love you, I esteem you, I entreat you. If you trust me, follow my advice, believe what I say; if you do not, at least forgive me for preferring God to man. O most noble Emperor, may you be blessed and prosperous with the holy pledges of your love, and enjoy everlasting peace."

These words of Ambrose were put to the test when he returned to Milan. The Emperor came to the church, in order to receive the Holy Communion. Ambrose refused to admit him, and closed the gates of the church against him.[4] Theodosius said, "David was guilty of murder and adultery." "Yes," replied Ambrose: "you who have imitated David in sin, imitate him now in repentance."[5]

For eight months he was kept from communion because Ambrose would not receive him without the previous discipline of public penance for so public an offence. When Christmas approached, and the Emperor longed to partake of the holy mysteries on

[4] "Copiam ingrediendi Ecclesiam Imperatori denegavit." Paullin. Vit. Ambr. 24.

[5] Ibid.

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that festival, he submitted to the terms prescribed by Ambrose, and divested himself of the imperial robes,[6] and lay prostrate on the pavement of the church, and with visible tokens of sorrow—such as tears, and striking his forehead, and tearing his hair—he said in the words of the Psalmist, "My soul cleaveth to the dust; oh! quicken Thou me according to Thy word" (Ps. cxix. 25). The people prayed and wept with him.[7]

When he had asked Ambrose to prescribe any other conditions for his admission, the Bishop, in order to prevent a repetition of a similar abuse of imperial power, desired him to enact a law that no one should be put to death before thirty days had elapsed after sentence had been pronounced upon him; and this request was complied with.[8] We are assured by S. Ambrose that this exercise of discipline[9] had a salutary effect upon him for the rest of his life.

Theodosius remained in Italy till the spring of A.D. 391. He endeavoured to extirpate Heathenism from the West, as he had done in the East. On Feb. 27, A.D. 391, he enacted a law,[1] in conjunction with Valentinian, forbidding sacrifices and worship of images in temples; and on May 11 in the same year, at Concordia near Aquileia, he made a severe decree

[6] S. Ambr. de Obit. Theodos. 34. Soz. vii. 25. Theodoret, v. 18.

[7] S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, v. 26, in his eulogy of the piety of Theodosius.

[8] Theodoret, v. 18.

[9] De Obitu Theodosii, 34; and S. Augustine says, de Civ. Dei, v. 26, "Quid fuit ejus religiosâ humilitate mirabilius, qui Ecclesiasticâ coercitus disciplinâ sic egit pœnitentiam," &c.? The words of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, ad Carolum Regem, Concil. tom. viii. 1752, are memorable: "Felix Imperator qui sacerdotem talem habuit, felix Sacerdos qui in tempore fuit talis Imperatoris." The lines of Shakspeare will occur to the reader (2nd part King Henry IV. Act v. sc. 2).

[1] Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 10.

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against those who fell away from Christianity to heathenism.[2]

After the return of Theodosius to Constantinople, the youthful, gentle, and amiable Valentinian—now twenty years of age—found himself unable to resist his enemies, or even to cope with his professed friends. Count Arbogastes, his Frank Generalissimo, became virtually lord of the West. The Emperor made some feeble attempts to assert his own power, and to defend his own dominions. For this purpose he marched into Gaul, where he heard that the barbarians were meditating an inroad into Italy from Illyria. At Vienne in Gaul he was treacherously murdered by order of Arbogastes, May 15, A.D. 392; who assumed the supreme authority, but being a foreigner, he thought fit to nominate Eugenius, a learned civilian, to the title, while he himself exercised the authority, of Emperor.

Valentinian's body was taken to Milan to be buried there; and S. Ambrose pronounced his funeral oration in the presence of his sisters Grata and Justa, and a large assemblage of mourners.

Ambrose in that oration[3] draws a beautiful picture of the virtues and graces of Valentinian the younger; of his temperance, his chastity, his love for his subjects, his tender affection to his sisters, his courage in resisting the demands of heathens and of timid Christians at Rome that he would restore the privileges of paganism; and this at a time of danger—when Arbogastes was soliciting their support. He dwelt in pathetic language on Valentinian's affection for himself; which was more remarkable on account of

[2] Cod. Theod. xvi. 7. 4.
[3] De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio.

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the boldness with which Ambrose had formerly resisted him and his mother Justina. In the last days of his life Valentinian had often called for Ambrose in his absence, and had prayed that he might receive baptism at his hands. But Ambrose, though he hastened at his call, did not arrive before his death. "O most excellent youth," he says, "would to heaven that I had found thee alive; I would have laboured to reconcile thee and thy General; perhaps I might have prevailed. I received thee into my arms from thy mother Justina, and went on two embassies to Maximus on thy behalf. You weep because he did not receive the Sacrament of Baptism.[4] But tell me, What is there in man besides will and prayer? He earnestly desired baptism; he sent for me to baptize him. Do you suppose that he did not receive the grace which he longed for? Doubtless he did.[5] O holy Father, I pray Thee to give to Thy servant that gift for which he prayed, which he desired when he was in health, and not constrained by sickness or fear of death. He had Thy Spirit; surely therefore he received Thy grace. Martyrs, though unbaptized, receive a baptism by their own blood; he was baptized by his piety and prayer. O Lord, separate him not from his brother Gratian,[6] who now lifts up his hands, O Father, to Thee, and prays for his brother and embraces him. Give ye the holy mysteries to his spirit;[7] let us pray for his rest with love. Give ye

[4] C. 51. Cp. "Non amisit gratiam quam poposcit," c. 30.

[5] On the case of persons dying without baptism, see Hooker, V. lx. 4.

[6] See above, p. 22.

[7] "*Manibus.*" A remarkable use of the word "*manes,*" but not without example in ancient Christian inscriptions. See Dean Burgon's Letters from Rome, p. 196, and Canon Venables on Catacombs, Dict. Ant. i. 308.

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the heavenly sacraments; let us follow the soul of our grandchild in Christ with our oblations. I will not sprinkle his grave with flowers, but will pour on his soul the fragrance of Christ. Let others scatter lilies[8] from full baskets; our Lily is Christ. I will join together the two brothers in one commemoration before Him, and thus hallow his remains. Both of them are happy, if my prayers are of any avail;[9] no day, no night shall pass without my remembrance of them in prayer, and in the holy oblations. O Gratian and Valentinian, both lovely and dear, how near have ye been brought together by death; pleasant ye were in your lives, and in death are not divided (2 Sam. i. 23). O Lord, separate not me after death from those who were most dear to me in life; may I be ever with them hereafter, who were only mine for a short time here. O most mighty God, I pray Thee to raise these dear youths by a speedy resurrection to eternal life."

The sudden death of Valentinian, and the growing power of the usurper Eugenius, supported by Arbogastes, aroused the courage of Theodosius, who made preparations for a second campaign in Italy.[1] The Egyptian Anchorite John, to whom he sent an inquiry, assured him, it is said, of success; but foretold that the struggle would be sanguinary, and even fatal to himself.[2]

Christianity and Heathenism now met one another

[8] One of the allusions to Virgil which abound in Ambrose's works. See Æn. vi. 884.

[9] On oblations and prayers for the faithful departed, which in the fourth century had become common in the Church, see above, vol. ii. 279, 286. More will be said on this subject below, in chapter vii.

[1] Soz. iv. 55. Rufin. xi. 31.

[2] Soz. vii. 24. Rufin. xi. 32. Theodoret, v. 24.

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face to face in battle. On one side Eugenius, like a second Julian, reopened the temples, rekindled the sacrificial fire on their altars, restored the revenues to their priests, and displayed the images of pagan gods, especially of Jupiter and Hercules, as the martial ensigns of his army.[3] On the other side Theodosius fought with faith and prayer to Christ, as well as with military valour and skill. He marched from Constantinople in the spring of 394, and forced the passage of the Julian Alps, and encountered the enemy at Aquileia, where he lost 10,000 of his brave Gothic troops in an engagement. Night came on. Eugenius, deeming himself victorious, rewarded and feasted his soldiers. The camp of Eugenius was behind that of Theodosius. Arbogastes posted his forces in the mountain passes to cut off the retreat of Theodosius. The Emperor's troops were broken in spirit and numbers, and his counsellors advised him to decline the battle. But, "No," he replied; "it shall never be said that the Cross of Christ has fled before the image of Hercules." He went to his tent on the hill, and spent the night in prayer; in the morning twilight he had a dream which assured him of victory.[4] When he awoke he prayed more earnestly, and encouraged his army with words of joy. Eugenius, seeing his approach, thought that Theodosius was eager to die, and ordered his soldiers to seize him alive, and to bring him a prisoner before him. But the troops of Theodosius, though unequal in numbers, engaged the enemy. A violent storm arose, beating back the missiles on the faces of the foe, and almost blinding

[3] Augustine de Civ. Dei, v. 26. Theodoret, v. 24. Cp. Ambrose, Epist. 57.

[4] Theod. v. 24. Oros. vii. 35. Soz. vii. 24. Socr. v. 25.

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them with dust, and sweeping forward the troops of Theodosius with increased swiftness and impetuosity. At length, Eugenius was seized by his own soldiers, brought in chains to Theodosius, and was executed. Arbogastes fled from the field to the mountains, where he died by his own hand on the third day after the battle, which was fought on Sept. 6, A.D. 394.

This battle of Aquileia was not only a conflict between Theodosius and Eugenius, but between Christianity and Paganism. It was generally regarded as such. It refuted the heathen objection that the Roman Empire was weak because Rome had abandoned its ancient religion, and was deserted by its own gods because it had embraced Christianity. Eugenius and Arbogastes were devout worshippers of those deities, and fought under their auspices; and were overthrown in a marvellous manner when they deemed themselves sure of victory. They were routed by a supernatural intervention of heaven in favour of Theodosius, warring under the standard of the Cross, and after a night passed in prayer to Christ. The Earth, Air, and Sky seemed to have decided the question for Christianity against Heathenism. The strange physical phenomena which turned the tide of the battle at Aquileia, and which may remind the Christian reader of the storm at Beth-horon in the time of Joshua (Josh. x. 11), and of the war of the elements when "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" (Judg. v. 20), are not only described by Christian writers, such as Augustine (from the personal testimony of soldiers who were in the battle), Orosius, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen,[5] but in the magnificent verses of the

[5] See references above, p. 61.

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heathen poet Claudian[6] (which may be called the noble accents of expiring Roman Poetry), addressing Theodosius,—

"Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit hastas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti."

For thee the North-wind from the hill overwhelm'd
The foe with icy blasts, and hurl'd the spears
Back on the hurlers, with a whirlwind's crash.
Darling of God! for whom from his dark caves
Æolus pours armèd storms, for whom heaven fights,
And to whose clarions come confederate winds.

Theodosius wrote to S. Ambrose, and desired him to give public thanks to God for the Victory. The Bishop took the letter to the Church at Milan, and laid it on the holy Table as an Eucharistic offering from him.[7] Theodosius came from Aquileia to Milan, where he commended Honorius his youngest son (born A.D. 384), and his daughter Placidia to his care; and having a presentiment of his approaching end, he divided the Empire between his two sons, assigning the West to Honorius, and the East to Arcadius (born A.D. 377), who was at Constantinople; the former, Honorius, was placed under the military protection of Stilicho, who had married Serena the niece of Theodosius; the latter, Arcadius, was committed to the care of Rufinus.

After a short illness Theodosius died at Milan, Jan. 17, A.D. 395, aged sixty years, having reigned

[6] "Claudianus a Christi nomine alienus," says Augustine, quoting some of these lines from Claudian's poem de Tertio Consulatu Honorii, v. 93.

[7] Ambrose, Epist. 61.

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sixteen. At his death the Roman Empire was divided, never to be again united under one head. His funeral oration[8] was pronounced by Ambrose on the fortieth day after his death; his body was embalmed and conveyed to Constantinople, and buried on Nov. 8, A.D. 395.

In that oration S. Ambrose says, "I loved him who was a merciful man, humble as Emperor, of pure heart, and tender mind, such as God loves. I loved him who preferred reproof to flattery." He then describes the behaviour of Theodosius in his penitence, as related above.[9] I loved the man who called for me with his dying breath, and who in his last moments was more solicitous for the welfare of the Church than for his own life. I therefore now mourn for him, in full trust that the Lord will receive my prayer for his soul. I mourn for one whose like we cannot hope to see again; but do Thou, O Lord, make his sons to resemble him. Grant perfect rest to Thy servant Theodosius—such rest as Thou hast prepared for Thy saints; and from which he will rise again to a still more perfect life.

"Constantinople sent him forth twice to victories in Italy.[1] Constantinople hoped to welcome his return in glory: he now returns more illustrious than any earthly conqueror, an inhabitant of Paradise, and attended by a company of Saints and Angels, and a denizen of the heavenly City."[2]

S. Ambrose did not long survive his imperial master

[8] S. Ambrose de Obitu Theodosii. [9] P. 57.

[1] First over Maximus; secondly over Eugenius.

[2] In this oration, as in that on Valentinian, we have prayers and oblations for the faithful departed (see above, p. 59, and de Excessu Fratris Satyri, i. 80); but there is no reference to Purgatory; Gratian and Theodosius are represented as in Paradise.

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Theodosius. On his return from the consecration of one of his suffragans, the Bishop of Pavia, he felt his strength failing. He was engaged in dictating an exposition of the 44th Psalm, "Thou art my King, O God: send help unto Jacob." When in health he did not dictate, but write with his own hand.[3] While he was on his sick-bed, the military regent Stilicho sent one of his friends among the nobility to urge him to pray God to spare his life, which was so precious to Italy. Ambrose replied, "I have not so lived with you as to be ashamed to live; nor do I fear to die, for we have a good Master."[4] The Bishop of Vercellæ, Honoratus, having lain down to rest near him, heard a voice saying, "Rise quickly, he is ready to depart," and gave him the Holy Eucharist, which he received, and so fell asleep, on Friday, April 3, A.D. 397, aged fifty-seven years, after an Episcopate of twenty-three years. His body was conveyed first to the Greater Basilica, near the Baptistery,[5] and was buried the next day, being Easter Day, in the Ambrosian Basilica,[6] where it now rests in peace.

The character of S. Ambrose, as displayed in his public acts, is distinguished by courage, constancy, and energy, sometimes seemingly stiffened into sternness, harshness, and pride. But these were not elements of his personal temperament; they were due to his deep and solemn sense of what, in his view, was required of him by the Great Head of the Church in the discharge of his Episcopal duty to Him and to His flock.

[3] Paullin. Vit. 38, and 42, 45.
[4] A saying treasured up by Augustine. Possid. Vit. Aug. 27.
[5] Above, p. 36.
[6] Above, p. 43.

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He acted on a strong conviction of that responsibility. It must have cost him many a severe conflict and bitter pang, to struggle as he did for the truth against Symmachus, the amiable and eloquent heathen orator and prefect, and against temporizing and timid Christians leagued with Symmachus; and against Valentinian the Emperor, and his mother Justina; and, above all, to resist for a time strenuously, and to reprove sharply, the great imperial champion of the Christian faith, the Emperor Theodosius.

These were acts of true dignity and nobleness of soul, as will appear when it is remembered that they were done by one who was animated by Christian compassion and love, and who gave signal proofs of almost feminine tenderness, by compassionate intercessions for the erring, and who melted down sacred vessels to ransom captives;[7] and by such outbursts of ardent affection as are seen in his private letters to his sister Marcellina, "dearer to him than his eyes and than life;"[8] and in his funeral sermons on his beloved brother Satyrus,[9] his "all in all;" and on his former persecutor, the Emperor Valentinian; and on the Emperor Theodosius.

The history of the Ecclesiastical policy of Theodosius and Ambrose is one of the most interesting and instructive in the annals of the Christian Church.

At first sight that policy seemed to have much to commend it; and we may suppose that Theodosius and Ambrose would have been bitterly disappointed, if they could have lived to see what followed it.

[7] Cp. Ambrose de Officiis Ministr. ii. 15, 28, 136, 157.
[8] Epist. 22.
[9] De Excessu fratris Satyri. See especially i. 6, 8, 15, 16.

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A holy alliance between the Christian Church and the Roman Empire in a noble enterprise for the glory of God and supremacy of Christ, and for the union of the subjects of the Empire in the profession of the one true faith, and in celebration of holy worship, to the exclusion not only of heathen idolatry, but of heretical pravity and schismatical discord, had a very attractive and fascinating aspect. It seemed to be like a rehearsal of the heavenly life, and a reflexion of the everlasting peace and glory of the Jerusalem that is above.

But this patriotic dream could not be realized. Theodosius passed away, and was succeeded by his two sons, Arcadius in the East, and Honorius in the West, whose feebleness and effeminacy were domineered over by a Rufinus and a Stilicho. Even in the reign of Theodosius, imperial autocracy sometimes produced great crimes and shameful disasters. This was much more visible in his successors; as, for example, in the ruthless persecution of S. John Chrysostom by Arcadius and Eudoxia.

The eyes of Theodosius and Ambrose were also too intently fixed on the Roman Empire united to the Church, and they were too eager for the aggrandizement of each in the union of the two, to realize the far grander and more glorious plan, which was in the mind of their Divine Lord,—to make His Church commensurate with the World; and to bring within its fold those barbarous tribes, which Rome regarded as its foes, and which soon humbled the Roman Empire and laid it in the dust, and at the same time gave fresh vitality and expansion to the Church, and showed that the Church of Christ embraces all nations in her bosom, and that her true life does not

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depend on any earthly dynasty—such even as that of a Theodosius — or on the permanence of any earthly City, even such as Rome, and still less (as some[1] have thought), on the local "succession of the Roman Pontiffs to the throne of the Cæsars," but on the Divine Presence of her Lord, which is promised to her for all time,[2] and on the Holy Spirit, Who will abide[3] with her for ever, and never cease to animate and guide her in every age and clime.

[1] Even De Broglie, De l'Église et de l'Empire, vi. 424—456: "Le successeur de Pierre prend la place que laisse vacante la désertion du successeur d'Auguste." Cp. ibid. v. 35. St. Paul's language concerning this succession of Popes to Cæsars is different. See on 2 Thess. ii. 2—4.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 20. [3] John xiv. 6.

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CHAPTER III.

Writings of S. Ambrose.

A LITTLE to the West of the Cathedral of Milan, which, as has been said,[1] stands on the site of the Great Basilica, celebrated in the history of S. Ambrose, and between it and the Basilica Ambrosiana, where he occupies so important a place in that history, and where he now rests in peace, is the famous Ambrosian Library, founded by one of his successors, Frederic Borromeo, in A.D. 1609.

This connexion is interesting and instructive. Among the Fathers of the Church few can be compared with S. Ambrose in intellectual gifts, especially oratorical and poetical, and in literary pursuits and attainments.

That Library contains a noble Manuscript of Virgil, enriched with notes by Petrarch. Virgil, the poet of Mantua—not far from Milan—seems to have been a special favourite of S. Ambrose. This appears not so much in direct quotations from him as in the silent interweaving of Virgilian words and phrases in his works, even in his expositions of Scripture, especially

[1] Above, p. 36.

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in the Hexämeron (or six day's work of Creation), and in his sermons and in his funeral orations.[2]

Ambrose was also a diligent reader of Pliny the elder's Natural History.

Nor was his reading limited to Latin authors. He quotes Greek Poets and Philosophers. He refers to Homer,[3] and to Euripides,[4] and Plato.[5] But his Greek studies lay mainly in the writings of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, such as Hippolytus, Origen, especially in his exposition of St. Luke, and of his own friend Basil, particularly in his Hexämeron.[6] Indeed some of his works are almost compilations from theirs, and adaptations of them to his own use.

In his work on the Holy Spirit, addressed to the Emperor Gratian, he profited by that of Didymus on the same subject.[7]

Ambrose may be said to have done for Latin Theology what Cicero did for Latin Philosophy. He enriched it from the stores of Greek Literature; and thus conferred a great benefit on the Western Church (which was far behind the Eastern in theological science), such as no other Latin writer did. S. Jerome was doubtless conversant with Greek Literature; but he wrote for the learned, not for the people.

[2] See for example Hexäm. iv. 4 and 9, v. 11 and 13 (three times), and 14 and 21 (twice), and *passim;* and de Virginibus, iii. 4, and de Obitu Valentinian. c. 56. One of the learned keepers of the Ambrosian Library, Dom Biraghi, says (Inni, p. 8), "Ambrogio con singolar passione studiato aveva in Virgilio, di cui è *perpetuo sfioratore.*" The editors of Virgil's works would have done well to have studied those of S. Ambrose; they might have derived some help from the Christian Bishop of Milan in illustrating and settling the text of the heathen Poet of Mantua.

[3] In Abr. ii. 10.

[4] Ibid. i. 90.

[5] De Bono Mortis, i. 5, and again 11.

[6] Cp. S. Jerome's remark, Epist. 5, ad Pammachium.

[7] See S. Jerome, Ep. ad Paullinum.

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We do not know that Jerome ever preached a single sermon. And Augustine seems to have had, even from his boyhood, a distaste for Greek.[8]

It was fortunate for S. Ambrose and for the Western Church, that as the son of a noble family, and a pleader in the forum, and an aspirant to civil offices, he had received this liberal education in Greek as well as in Latin literature. If he had not had this general preparatory training in eloquence and learning, and if he had not had the stores of Greek Theology open to him at a time when the West was comparatively poor in that respect, he, who was, if we may so speak, extemporized from a Magistrate into a Bishop, in the second city in the West, could never have become one of the Doctors of the Church, and the teacher of other teachers, especially of S. Augustine.[9] "I was snatched," he says, "to the Episcopate from the judicial tribunal and from the insignia of civil administration. I began to teach what I had not learnt: therefore I must now learn and teach at once." He was indefatigable in both. "When he was raised to the Episcopate," says his biographer Paullinus,[1] "he was lacking in Ecclesiastical science." To make up for this defect he devoted with incredible assiduity all the time that could be spared from necessary duties to the study of Holy Scripture, as we know from S. Augustine.[2] He gave himself to it by day, and hardly rested from it by night.[3] Happily he had great natural gifts, and being well trained in liberal arts, especially in Greek Literature, we

[8] Confess. i. 14.
[9] Ambrose de Officiis Ministrorum, i. 2.
[1] Ed. Bened. c. 16.
[2] Aug. Confess. vi. 3.
[3] Ambrose, Epist. 29, and Epist. 47.

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need not wonder that by reading the Greek and Latin Fathers as well as Holy Scripture he made such progress as he did. What he himself learnt, he diligently taught in his sermons; he preached every Sunday[4] to the people of Milan.

The providential dispensations of God toward His Church may be traced in His raising up men singularly fitted and qualified to deal with the religious questions of their age, and to promote its spiritual welfare not only by action, but by speech and writing. This was exemplified in Ambrose.

The sudden improvisation, by which he was caught up, as he says, from the judicial bench to the Episcopal throne, did not seem to promise success. But if he had not received that liberal culture and general unprofessional training[5] which he did (and which—it may be remarked in passing—has made our own public Schools and Colleges such excellent seminaries for the Ministers of the English Church), he would not have been an instrument of so much good as he was, in acting, writing, and speaking, to the Catholic Church.

We have been contemplating him in action; and we may now add, that unless he had been trained in Greek as well as Roman literature heathen and Christian, his oration against Symmachus could not have

[4] Aug. Conf. vi. 3. Cp. ibid. v. 13; vi. 1, 8, on the effect produced on Augustine's mind by the sermons of Ambrose, whom he venerated as his father in Christ. Aug. contra Julian. Pelag. i. 3.

[5] In this respect Ambrose may be compared with Cyprian; as he is by S. Augustine (de Doctrinâ Christianâ, iv. 46—50), speaking of the "genus dicendi temperatum, ornatum et grande" of both. Both had practised at the bar, but the range of the literary culture of Ambrose (as far as we can judge from their works) was more extensive than that of Cyprian, though probably not equal to that of Cyprian's master Tertullian.

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been produced; and it is certain that he could not have confuted Arianism as he did at the Council of Aquileia, or have checked Macedonianism by his work on the Holy Spirit. In fact he defeated Heathenism, and saved Italy from heresy, by means of intellectual and literary weapons derived from Heathenism and heresy, and hallowed by divine Grace.

So likewise with regard to the Exposition of Holy Scripture. The poetical gifts of Ambrose, his playful fancy, his fervid imagination, gave a rich warmth and mellow glow—caught from Origen and Basil—to his interpretations of the Old Testament, which rescued it from the dryness and coldness that repelled many from the exegetical writings of some of the Antiochene School, and which prepared the way for the labours of his scholar Augustine in defence of the Old Testament.

We may add, that to Ambrose more than any other writer in the West—because the first in order of time—we owe some of the best specimens of the exercise of that faculty which sees heavenly things mirrored in earthly, and contemplates the world of Grace reflected in the face of Nature, and which imparts its special charm to the "Christian Year."[6]

Thus, for example, to his imagination the wide Sea is spiritualized; he beholds in its creeks and bays the ports and havens into which the tempest-tossed

[6] Mr. Keble, in his dedication of his Prælections to William Wordsworth, recognizes him as gifted with that faculty (which was singularly his own also), "ut sive hominum affectus caneret, sive terrarum et cœli pulchritudinem, legentium animos *semper ad sanctiora erigeret.*" That the Author of the "Christian Year" had profited much from patristic literature is clear from No. 89 (in "Tracts for the Times"), written by him, on the "Mystical Interpretation of Holy Scripture;" see note below, p. 74.

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bark of Faith is received; in its islands he loves to see the quiet retreats of holy and religious men; and he hears in its deep and solemn tones the voices of Christian congregations, the responses of psalms, the chants of anthems sung by men, women, and children, joining together, like the multitudinous waves of a mighty ocean, in praising God.[7]

The history of the vicissitudes of the Church, and the doctrine of her dependence on Christ, had in the mind of Ambrose types in the Moon, and in its relation to the Sun. The Church,[8] he says, like the Moon has its wanings and its waxings; but it grows by its decrease. It is diminished by persecutions, but is crowned by martyrdoms. The Church is the spiritual Moon which borrows illumination of grace and immortality from the light of its brother.[9] The Church does not shine by her own light, but by the light of Christ; she borrows all her splendour from the "Sun of righteousness"[1] (Mal. iv. 2).

But S. Ambrose was not only the first Latin Preacher who taught the Western Church to regard Nature and Scripture as two Books written by one Divine Hand, and as mutually illustrative of each

[7] See his Hexämeron, iii. 5, and de Benedict. Patriarch. 5. Cp. Keble for Septuagesima, and ibid. "Two Worlds are ours." Keble's words are a versification of Ambrose's prose:—

"One Name, with its ten thousand tongues,
The everlasting Sea proclaims,
Echoing angelic songs."

[8] Hexäm. iv. 8.

[9] Another silent allusion to Virgil, Georg. i. 396, "Nec *fratris* radiis obnoxia surgere luna."

[1] Keble, Christian Year for Septuagesima, another versification of Ambrose:—

"The Moon above, the Church below,
A wondrous race they run;
But all their radiance, all their glow,
They borrow from the Sun."

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other, but he also led it to recognize the Old Testament as a foreshadowing of the New, and the New as the antitype of the Old. And this was not only so with regard to the Levitical Law, but as to the Patriarchal history from the beginning. As to the Levitical Law his saying has become a household word of the Church, "Umbra in Lege, imago in Evangelio, veritas in Cœlo."[2] And as to the ancient Patriarchs, their acts are not merely historical, but prophetical—"Gesta patriarcharum futurorum mysteria sunt;"[3] a saying in which he has anticipated almost the whole of the argument by which his scholar Augustine afterwards refuted the cavils of Manichæan scepticism against the Old Testament, especially in his great work against Faustus, the champion of that heresy. Ambrose illustrates this statement by his expositions of the history of Abel, the type of Christ, and Cain,[4] the figure of the Jewish Nation; of Noah and the Ark; of Abraham, Isaac—and Rebecca, the figure of the Church found in Mesopotamia,[5] and brought to Christ the Divine Isaac—Jacob, and Joseph —the signal type of Christ in love and compassion, in beneficence, in suffering, and in glory.[6]

[2] Ambrose de Officiis Ministrorum, i. 48.

[3] Ambrose de Joseph. 14. Cp. Augustine c. Faust. xxii. 24, "Vita Patriarcharum Prophetia."

[4] There is a grand peroration to this treatise, where Cain and Abel are represented as the figures of the two lives, the earthly—prosperous, rich, enjoying longevity in this world—and the heavenly life—short and suffering, but an heir of eternal glory. Here also is a germ of another of Augustine's works—the greatest of all—"On the City of God," compared with the City of this World.

[5] There is a playfulness of fancy in Ambrose's application of this word "Mesopotamia" in illustration of Christian doctrine (de Abraham. i. 87): "Ubi invenitur Ecclesia nisi in *Mesopotamiâ?* ibi *duobus* stipatur *fluminibus*, lavacro gratiæ et fletu pœnitentiæ."

[6] Ambrose de Joseph. Patriarchâ—throughout; perhaps the best specimen of these treatises.

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Annexed to his works on patriarchal history is one "on the Blessing of Death,"[7] which contains a declaration of Christian doctrine on the intermediate state of the soul between death and the resurrection of the body.[8]

Ambrose was the Apologist of Christianity in his controversy with Symmachus; he was the champion of the Catholic Church against Arianism in the Council of Aquileia and in his books "On the Faith," and against Macedonianism in his work "On the Holy Spirit;" he was the defender of her Unity and Charity against the stern rigour of the Novatian sectaries in his writing "On Penitence;" he edified her by his doctrinal treatises, by his expositions of Scripture, and by his Homilies; he also showed his zeal for the maintenance of her Discipline and Order by his books "on the Duties of the Clergy,"[9] and "on Widows and Virgins," and for her Ritual and Worship by his treatise "on the Sacraments."

In the books "de Officiis Ministrorum" we see the fruit of his earlier studies as a reader of Cicero, from whom the title is taken, and whose language is imitated in it;[1] and his intercourse with persons in the higher ranks of society qualified him for the work, which shows what salutary influence Ambrose, as a Christian nobleman, as well as a Catholic Bishop, must have exercised in forming the character and

[7] "De Bono Mortis."

[8] Cap. 10. It is clear that Ambrose did not believe in Purgatory.

[9] De Officiis Ministrorum Libri iii.

[1] See, for instance, De Offic. Minis. i. 18, on the manners, the gait, and general behaviour of a Clergyman, and compare it with Cicero de Officiis, i. 35, and i. 36. The "histrionici gestus," "fercula pomparum" of Ambrose are literal transcripts from Cicero, to whom he refers by name, i. 19.

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guiding the conduct of the Clergy; and may we not say that this influence was felt by one of the most illustrious and saintly of the successors of Ambrose in the see of Milan, Carlo Borromeo?

It deserves notice, that he who was so bold a champion of the faith, and so zealous for the discipline and ritual of the Church, insists strongly on the duty of Christian gentleness and courtesy, and on refinement, delicacy, and good breeding, and on benevolence, liberality, generosity, integrity, justice, probity, temperance and humility, modesty and mercy, as essential to the formation of the character of a Clergyman.[2]

In a word, Ambrose did not think that any professions of orthodoxy, or zeal for religious worship, would be of any avail without moral virtues, and good manners, in a Christian Minister.

This treatise contains also some excellent precepts for the Clergy on the management of the voice; its tone should always be natural, unaffected, simple, and manly; and on demeanour in preaching and other offices of their ministry,[3] and on clerical recreations. Above all, he insists on the need of unremitting diligence in the study of the Scriptures, and in prayer. "Why should you not devote all the time to reading which you can spare from the Church? Why not revisit Christ, speak to Christ, listen to Christ? We speak to Him when we pray; we listen to Him when we read the divine oracles. We ought to be humble, gentle, kind, grave, patient, moderate in all things, so that neither our silence nor our speech should indicate

[2] See De Offic. Minis. i. 18—25, 32—34, 43—48; ii. 15, 17, 24, 28; iii. 10.

[3] See i. 19 and 20, which deserve careful perusal.

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any fault in our morals. In all our ministerial work let us look up to Christ for help."[4]

In times like the present, when in Italy, France, Spain, Ireland, Scotland, and also in England, many of the Clergy have risen from the lower ranks of society, this book of Ambrose has a special value for the Christian Minister; and may help him to adorn his high profession, which when it is hallowed by the graces and virtues that Ambrose recommends, and of which he was so bright an example, is the noblest profession in the world.

S. Ambrose wrote several treatises on *Virginity;* these may be better reserved for consideration in connexion with S. Jerome's controversies on that subject.[5]

The Church of Milan in the days of S. Ambrose was independent of Rome, as was sufficiently shown at his election to the see. In his Episcopate, as to doctrinal matters, Milan was rather the teacher of Rome, than Rome of Milan. And in its Ritual[6] and Calendar the Church of Milan has preserved its independence even to our own age.

The work of Ambrose "on the Sacraments," which is printed among his writings, belongs to a later age,[7] but the substance of it is anticipated in the shorter treatise "*de Mysteriis*," which is generally assigned to him, and is supposed to have been composed in A.D. 387. It bears a striking resemblance to the Sacramental Lectures already described[8] of S. Cyril

[4] See the end of the fourth book of his Exposition of St. Luke.

[5] Below, chap. vii.

[6] See Daniel, Codex Liturgicus, i. pp. 45—151, Lips. 1847. According to the Ambrosian Rite (as the Greek), there ought to be only one altar in a church.

[7] See the note of the Benedictine editor prefixed to it, tom. ii. p. 342, ed. Paris, 1686—1690.

[8] Above, vol. ii. 283—288.

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of Jerusalem. Like S. Cyril, he begins with speaking of the Baptismal Renunciation of the Devil, and of all his works, and of the world and of the flesh. He reminds his hearers that in the Water and in the Minister they are not to consider what they see with their eyes, but to contemplate the Divine Presence of the Holy Ghost working by them.[9]

He refers to the Scriptural Types of Baptism.

"Let us be sure that we have been regenerated in Baptism, and let us not ask *how* we have been regenerated. We know that Christ was conceived and born of the Holy Ghost coming upon the Blessed Virgin, but we know not *how* this was done. So we are regenerated by the Spirit coming on the baptismal font, but we cannot tell *how*" (c. 9).

He says that they who are baptized into the Name of the Holy Trinity have declared the Godhead of Christ and of the Holy Ghost (c. 5). He speaks of the unction they receive after baptism by water (c. 6), and explains the spiritual significance of their white garments (c. 7). He then mentions the "signaculum Spiritûs" which they receive, and the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost.[1]

He next proceeds to propound the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist (c. 8, 9), and the consecration of the Elements, and asserts the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament of His Body and Blood (c. 9).

Among the Fathers of the Christian Church no one has exercised so much influence on his own and succeeding generations as S. Ambrose, by the potent

[9] De Myst. c. 3 and 4.

[1] In Confirmation; see the Benedictine note, p. 336, "De Confirmatione hoc dici extra dubium est."

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agency of *Hymns*, for the preservation and diffusion of sound doctrine.

The Church has grown, under the guiding and controlling grace of the Holy Spirit, not only by Persecution, but by Heresy. The Hymns of S. Ambrose are due to Arianism. They were intended to be an antidote to its poison; and they had the happy effect of rescuing the people of Milan from it;[2] and long after his death they sounded in the Western Church, and still sound in it, not only in their own language, but in translations of it,[3] and are preservatives of its faith.

S. Ambrose was well fitted by natural gifts, and by literary pursuits and attainments, to be the Hymnologist of the Western Church. His familiarity with Latin poetry was a great advantage to him. Not merely in purity of diction and elegance of style, but also in metrical correctness of harmony, prosody, and versification he stands unrivalled. But the great merit of his Hymns is in their clear statements of Christian doctrine with fervour of devotion, and stately march and noble simplicity of language, characteristics like those of what is commonly called the "Hymnus Ambrosianus," namely, the "*Te Deum*," which, though not written by Ambrose, yet Ambrose was capable of writing.[4] The metre which he chose[5] was favourable for his purpose.

[2] Ambrose, Ep. 20. Paullin. Vit. Ambros. 13.

[3] E.g. in "Hymns Ancient and Modern," and in versions by the late Bishop Mant, Lond. 1837, and the Rev. John Chandler, Lond. 1837.

[4] The following may be quoted as a specimen; it is addressed to Christ, the true Dayspring. Hymn xii. p. 113:—

In Auroræ.

"Splendor paternæ gloriæ,
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis, et fons luminis,
Diem Dies illuminans,

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A learned Milanese Ecclesiastic, Dr. Luigi Biraghi, who has published an edition of his poems[6] with an excellent commentary, has described the peculiar characteristics of these Hymns[7] in words which can hardly fail to be acceptable to the reader, especially to hymn-writers, hymn-readers, and hymn-singers: "S. Ambrose has a style peculiarly his own, clear, sweet, vigorous, grand, and noble; wonderful closeness of thoughts, singular brevity of expression; he does not allow himself to run after poetical prettinesses, but loves sublime dogmatic truths; he soars on high with a bold flight to contemplate the Ever-Blessed Trinity, and heavenly mysteries, and Evangelical morality; preferring the living language of Scripture to a flowery, fascinating style. His hymns are like ancient inscriptions engraved on marble monuments, in few but incisive verses. No glittering flashes, but the calm light of bright spiritual enthusiasm; not much sentiment, but the true courage of the Cross, the power of Faith, the triumph of the Gospel over the World."

Many hymns have been ascribed to Ambrose, which have no claim to that title. Dr. Biraghi applies certain tests for discriminating the spurious hymns

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Verusque Sol, illabere
Micans nitore perpeti,
Jubarque Sancti Spiritûs
Infunde nostris sensibus.
Votis vocemus et Patrem,
Patrem perennis gloriæ."

A noble profession of the true faith, in vigorous energy and clear simplicity of language—a Creed-like Hymn.

[5] The iambic dimeter acatalectic—

"Deus Creator omnium," &c.

[6] Inni sinceri e Carmi di Sant' Ambrogio, Milano, 1862.

[7] Inni, pp. 8—10.

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from the genuine. Does a hymn offend against prosody? Does it adopt rhyme?[8] If so, it cannot have been written by him. Does it correspond in matter, manner, and metre to his genuine hymns?[9] Was it ascribed to him by contemporary writers? Has it been received in the ancient service-books of the Church of Milan? If so, it may be accepted as his.

[8] Dr. Biraghi (p. 11) asserts that no hymn with rhymes is earlier than the sixth century. He limits the genuine Hymns of S. Ambrose to eighteen. Dr. Mone, in his Thesaurus Hymnologicus (Lips. 1855), i. 12—115, has put together no less than ninety hymns under the title of "Ambrosius et Ambrosiani."

[9] Dr. Biraghi, p. 10, specifies these criteria as Ambrosian; "iambic verses, short and clear sentences, sublime thoughts, masculine spirit, refined culture."

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CHAPTER IV.

Moral, social, and religious Condition of Rome—The See of Rome—Pontificate of Damasus—The Catacombs.

LET us now pass from Milan to Rome.

Ammianus Marcellinus, after his foreign service as a soldier, lived at Rome, and composed at Rome part of his History, which he completed at the twelfth year of the reign of Theodosius, A.D. 390.[1]

In that history he has given a minute description of the social and moral condition of the Capital of the Western Empire at that time.[2]

The Roman patricians, as portrayed by him, were possessed of boundless wealth ; they were also characterized by corrupt degeneracy, effeminate luxury, sensual self-indulgence, and rapacious covetousness ; and also by abject superstition and puerile credulity, sometimes combined, in a fantastic contradiction, with cold scepticism, or even blank atheism.

The indolent and voluptuous lives of the men were

[1] He mentions the death of Gratian (xxvii. 6), which occurred A.D. 383 ; but he speaks of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria as still standing (xxii. 16), which was destroyed A.D. 391.

[2] Ammian. Marcellin. xiv. 6, and xxviii. 4. The English reader may see the substance of it in Gibbon, chap. xxxi. 5, vol. v. p. 267 ; and it occupies a great part of the first book of M. Amédée Thierry's Life of S. Jerome, Paris, 1867.

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rivalled by the unblushing effrontery and reckless libertinism of the women. And the vices of the higher classes were reflected in coarse forms and tawdry colours by their servile clients and plebeian dependants.

In this carefully finished picture from the hand of that philosophic historian, "the Tacitus of the fourth century," we seem to be contemplating a reproduction of the sixth satire of Juvenal, and a verification of the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

The causes of this moral degeneracy are not far to seek.

The old Roman families had fallen into decay. They had lost their ancestral spirit and aristocratical influence, and had been supplanted by adventurers from the provincial municipalities, or from Spanish, Greek, and Asiatic towns, and far-off provinces.[3] The old hardy Roman virtue was gone. The indigenous classes were eclipsed in opulence and even social splendour by immigrants, some of whom possessed vast territorial possessions in almost all parts of the Empire, and proudly claimed an ancestry of their own not less illustrious than that of the Cæsars. They traced their descent from the heroes of the

[3] Even Juvenal in his time could say "Odi Græcam urbem," iii. 61, and "Jamdudum Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes;" and see the noble passage (one of the finest in his works) deploring the unhappy decay of Roman poverty and virtue, and the influx of exotic wealth and foreign vices; Juvenal, vi. 286—299,—

> "Præstabat castas humilis fortuna Latinas
> Quondam, &c.
> Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala; sævior armis
> Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.
> Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
> Paupertas Romana perit."

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Trojan war; and by intermarriage with some of the Roman races, they blended the genealogical glories of the Scipios with those of Æneas and Agamemnon.

But unhappily they had few opportunities and encouragements for the exercise of those public virtues, which are the best ornaments of rank and opulence, and which, in the highest sense of the words, elevate and ennoble an Aristocracy. Like the Roman Nobility in our own days under the Papacy when dominant in a great part of Italy, these wealthy and illustrious citizens had no avenues of distinction, no careers of greatness open to their aspirations of loyalty and patriotism, in the Senate, in military campaigns, or on the battle-field.

When the orator Symmachus pleaded before the Emperor Valentinian for the retention of the Altar of Victory, he urged that if it were removed from the Julian Curia, the Senators would have no place left, in which to pledge their allegiance to him, and to *his* Laws. And that distinguished advocate employed the phrase, "the imperial Laws," not in the sense in which it is used by English statesmen describing the Laws of the Realm as the Queen's Laws, because they are enacted by the Queen's Majesty with the advice of Lords and Commons, but because the Roman Emperor absorbed all legislative power into himself. The Code known as the "Theodosian Code" contains a body of Law emanating from the autocratic will of Roman Emperors alone. Consequently there was no place for such moral and intellectual qualities, as in the days of the Gracchi and of Cicero had made the Roman Senate the noblest theatre of courage, statesmanship, and eloquence in the world.

Not only hardy virtues and wise counsels at home,

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but military prowess abroad, made the Rome of the Republic to be what she was. But in the Imperial Rome of the fourth century these elements were also wanting. The Roman infantry had thrown off their heavy armour. The Roman legions were crowded with mercenary troops. Few sons of her nobility rose to high stations in command. Gothic, Frank, and Vandal chieftains, such as a Gainas, a Gildo, Arbogastes, and Stilicho, or some fortunate provincial adventurer and usurper, such as Maximus, held the highest places in her armies. Theodosius, it is true, had risen from the camp in Spain to the throne of the Cæsars; but his degenerate sons, Arcadius and Honorius, gave themselves up to Oriental indolence and luxury in their palaces, surrounded by courtiers, and flattered by chamberlains, who relieved them of the cares of state, and governed in their name, and beguiled them into a splendid slavery under the specious name of despotism. Honorius was unable to defend Rome against a successful insurgent who had served under his father, and he abandoned the Western Capital to be taken and pillaged by Alaric the Goth.

The enormous wealth of the Roman nobles might have entitled them to be Merchant Princes, like those of Genoa or Venice, and of our Liverpools and Manchesters. But the Roman Capitalists despised Commerce and Trade, as unworthy of their ancestral dignity. They disdained to imitate the simpler virtues of the ancient Roman nobles and gentry, the Cincinnati, the Fabii, the Lentuli, the Catos, and the Varros, who resided with their families on their estates, and regarded the science and practice of Agriculture as hardly inferior to that

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of War.[4] They left their vast domains to be managed by tenant farmers, or to gangs of miserable slaves, under a jealous agent and heartless overseer.

Their vast wealth was employed for two base purposes—usurious money-lending, and voluptuous sensuality.[5]

The Christian Church at Rome was severely tried by the demoralizing influences of such a state of society as this. No one was exposed to more temptations than the Bishop of Rome. He was in danger of being entangled in the snare of pride, vainglory, ambition, and worldliness. His see was pre-eminent among the Patriarchates of Christendom.[6] He was the only Patriarch in the West. He was the most illustrious Ecclesiastic in its ancient Capital, the former Mistress of the World. He was also left alone in that glorious eminence, by the translation of the seat of Empire from Rome to Constantinople; and as if this was not enough to aggrandize the Roman Bishop, the Emperors of the West had deserted the Palatine Hill, and its splendours passed away to the Vatican. The Christian Emperors rarely visited Rome, probably finding little sympathy with its ancient traditions and heathen associations. They forsook the banks of the Tiber, and fixed their residence at Milan, Trèves, or at Cologne, and afterwards at Ravenna. By a marvellous concurrence of circumstances the Roman Pontiffs succeeded into the place vacated by the Cæsars, and fulfilled the prophecy of St. Paul.[7]

[4] Cicero de Senectute. c. 15, 16.

[5] Cp. Gibbon, ch. xxxi. vol. v. p. 261.

[6] Cp. Neander, Ch. Hist. iii. 218—223.

[7] 2 Thess. ii. 3—8. May I be allowed to refer to the authorities and

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The brilliant secular fascinations of this lofty position were not favourable to the growth of spiritual life. S. Basil, as we have already seen,[8] complained of the haughty demeanour, and unsympathetic coldness, of Pope Damasus, when an appeal was made to him by Eastern Bishops for the exercise of his authority in defence of the Catholic faith, and in opposition to the aggressions of Arianism. And the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who described the manners of the Roman patricians, and ladies of high rank, has also drawn a picture of Roman Bishops in the same century. In a narrative of the eager competition in A.D. 366 for the vacant Papal throne, between Damasus and Ursinus,[9] when sanguinary acts of

statements on this subject in my note on that passage? A candid and learned Roman Catholic writer, already quoted, one of the best of modern Church historians, the Duc de Broglie, has borne an unconscious testimony to this fulfilment of St. Paul's words, De l'Église, &c., vi. 424, "L'Evêque de Rome monte au trône d'où tombaient les Empereurs;" ibid. 456, "Le successeur de Pierre prend la place que laisse vacante la désertion du successeur d'Auguste." Heaven forbid that in this identification of the Roman Bishops with "the Lawless One" in the prophecy of St. Paul, I should be supposed to apply it to such Bishops as Pope Leo I. or Gregory I. No; but the Holy Spirit spoke by St. Paul, and with Him "a thousand years are as one day;" and He saw in a single glance, and has described in a few words, what the Papacy would become; and when we look at the two acts (to cite no more) done by the Papacy at Rome in St. Peter's Church in our own age—one on Dec. 8, 1854, declaring that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception is to be received by all men under pain of damnation, and the other on July 18, 1870, making a similar assertion concerning the dogma of the Pope's Infallibility—we may surely say that if these are not acts of "Lawlessness," it is not easy to say what "Lawlessness" is. And when it is also remembered that these two acts (to say nothing of other proofs to the same effect) were done "*ex cathedrâ*" by the Bishop of Rome sitting in a *Christian Church*, it is not uncharitable to affirm that he was then like the "Lawless One" described by St. Paul as "sitting in the temple of God," and claiming divine attributes.

[8] Above, vol. ii. p. 249.

[9] See above, vol. ii. pp. 216, 217.

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violence were perpetrated on both sides, and 135 persons were killed in an affray in one of the churches, he adds, "Looking at this struggle, in which the combatants engaged with a view to secular ostentation, I do not deny that the candidates for this dignity have good reason to contend with might and main for the prize; because, if they gain it, they are sure of being enriched with the largesses of matrons, and of riding aloft in splendid attire in proud carriages, and of being regaled at prodigal entertainments, so that their feasts surpass the banquets of Kings."

This mention by Marcellinus of liberal offerings by matrons to Bishops of Rome is confirmed by other testimony. Changes in the Roman Law[1] had relaxed the rigid restrictions of parental and marital authority, to which daughters and wives were subject as to the disposition of property under the Republic. The effect of these modifications of the law were favourable in a temporal sense to the Church.

Christianity, as might have been expected, exercised a salutary influence on the hearts and lives of many noble Christian women, who, under its spiritual teaching, became conscious of the unsatisfying hollowness of fashionable society in Roman palaces, and recoiled with disrelish and aversion from its frivolity and dissipation.

The influence also of Eastern Monasticism, which had been infused by the visit of Athanasius and some Egyptian cœnobites, such as Ammonius and Isidore, to Rome in the Pontificate of Julius,[2] tended to operate in the same direction.

[1] These changes have been well stated by De Broglie, vi. 482.
[2] About A.D. 341. Above, vol. ii. 77.

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But instead of leavening the mass of Roman society by an expansive assimilation to Christianity, this monastic spirit had rather the effect of stimulating and intensifying the ardent piety and devotional zeal of a few individuals, especially among the ladies of Rome, and of forming them into a distinct class, separated from the world about them.

Such tendencies as these developed themselves in generous acts of self-sacrifice, and enriched Roman Ecclesiastics with munificent gifts and endowments. Probus, one of the wealthiest of the Roman nobles, the descendant of Marcus Aurelius, the kinsman or relative of Olybrius and of almost all the richest patricians of the capital—the lord of estates in almost all the provinces, the friend and patron of S. Ambrose—was united in marriage to Anicia, an illustrious example of fervent piety and of boundless liberality.[3]

The palace of another high-born matron, Marcella, on the Aventine Hill at Rome, became like a College or a Convent.[4] Her friends Furia, Asella, and Fabiola[5] are known to the Christian world from the letters of S. Jerome. Paula, the descendant of Paulus Æmilius and the Gracchi, and tracing her genealogy upward to the King of Argos and Mycenæ, who led the Greeks to the siege of Troy, and connected collaterally with the Scipios, and the wife of Julius Toxotius, who claimed descent from Æneas,[6] and the proprietor of the town of Nicopolis, founded by Augustus to commemorate the victory at Actium,[7]

[3] "Anicia in omnes effusâ bonitate." S. Jerome, Epist. 97, tom. iv. ed. Benedict. Paris, 1706.

[4] S. Jerome, Epist. 48, and Epist. 96.

[5] Ibid. Epist. 21, 47, and 86.

[6] Ibid. Epist. 86.

[7] S. Jerome, Epist. ad Titum, c. 3.

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gave herself, her daughter, and her wealth[8] to the service of the Church, and retired from the splendours of Rome in A.D. 385, soon after S. Jerome's departure, to a life of self-denial, religious study, meditation, psalm-singing, and prayer in the monastic solitudes of Bethlehem. S. Jerome, himself the Secretary of Pope Damasus, confesses that this pious zeal and liberality were too often abused.

Jerome's friend and schoolfellow Rufinus—afterwards his bitter adversary—had also a devoted adherent in Melania. She was a representative of that class of Roman ladies, who, wearied with the irksome forms and meaningless etiquettes of patrician life, sated and jaded with its pleasures, and with the pomp and pageantry of the wealth, which Christianity taught them to despise and to dedicate to nobler uses, seemed by an excess of reaction to find a luxury in poverty, and to glory in the homely simplicity of hard fare and ascetic attire. Her friend and host Paullinus, Bishop of Nola, who had bidden adieu to the world—the friend of Jerome and Augustine, mentions[9] as a specimen of her beneficence, that in the time of the Arian persecution under Valens, Melania fed 5000 monastic confessors for three days; and he describes this noble Roman matron as coming to meet him on the Appian Way, riding on a poor palfrey, not worth so much as an ass,[1] in a mean black dress, which contrasted strangely with the splendour of the rich trappings of the horses and of the gilded chariots of her own children and grandchildren, and with their purple and silk attire, which, as the narrator says, acted as a foil to the coarse

[8] S. Jerome, Epist. 47, 54, 57, 86.

[9] Paullinus ad Sever. Epist. 29.

[1] "Viliore asellis burico."

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tunic and threadbare cloak of the holy widow, whose worn-out garments they felt it an honour to touch.

In the year 370, Valentinian the First addressed an imperial edict[2] to Damasus, which was read in the Churches of Rome, to the following effect :—"Let no ecclesiastic, nor any one, either of ecclesiastics or of those who desire themselves to be called 'continentes' (bound to celibacy), resort to the houses of Widows or female Wards, but be evicted (exterminentur) by legal sentences, if they are delated by the relatives or kindred of such persons. We decree also that the above-mentioned persons shall be incapable of receiving anything from the liberality or will of any women to whom they may have attached themselves under plea of religion; and any such donations or legacies as they shall have appropriated to themselves shall be confiscated."

S. Jerome refers with sorrowful approval to this law, and to another of Valentinian the younger, Theodosius, and Arcadius A.D. 390 (six years after the death of Damasus),[3] forbidding testamentary bequests of religious women to Ecclesiastics. "I blush to say it, heathen Priests, players of pantomimes, drivers of chariots in the circuses, and harlots, are allowed to receive legacies; Clergy and Monks are forbidden to do so by Christian princes. Nor do I complain of the law, but I am grieved that we deserve it." He also laments that these laws are evaded by means of trusteeships.[4] And he draws a picture of some of his unworthy contemporaries, who were ambitious to become deacons and priests, only to gain readier

[2] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 2. 20. [3] Ibid. xvi. 2. 27.
[4] S. Jerome, Epist. 34. "Per fidei commissa legibus illudimus."

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access to the society of women, and who practised on their sensibility in order to enrich themselves by their credulous benevolence.[5]

It is much to the credit of S. Jerome (who had been ordained to the Priesthood by Paullinus[6] at Antioch in A.D. 378), that he raised his voice boldly against the vices[7] of the clergy of his age; and it redounds to the honour of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, that he chose Jerome to be his Secretary, and protected him against his opponents, and condescended to consult him on passages of Scripture; and above all that he encouraged Jerome to undertake those biblical studies, on which more will be said hereafter, and by which he has entitled himself to the gratitude of the universal Church. Damasus is eulogized for his virtue and orthodoxy by Theodoret;[8] but we have not much evidence of any powerful influence exercised by him during an Episcopate of eighteen years.

Much allowance is to be made for the difficulties of his position. It required the clear eye of Christian faith, and the strong energy of Christian courage, to resist the allurements of his high position, and to contend against the enervating influences of wealth and luxury in a dissolute half-heathen capital, full of temples, altars and idols, and theatres and amphitheatres; and we can hardly wonder that the Bishop of Rome left the battle of the faith against heathenism

[5] Epist. 18. Cp. Epist. 34 for a portrait of a fashionable monk frequenting the saloons and dinner-tables of Rome.

[6] Epist. 38.

[7] Cp. the description of some of the Roman Clergy in M. Thierry, S. Jérome et la Société Chrétienne à Rome, pp. 15—23, Paris, 1867: "Je ne fais ici," he says, "que résumer les auteurs ecclésiastiques eux-mêmes;" and S. Jerome, Epist. 18, Epist. 34, and Epist. 93.

[8] Theodoret, iv. 27; v. 2.

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and heresy to be fought by more strenuous champions, such as Basil in the East, and Ambrose in the West. He was a man of elegant tastes, literary culture and refinement, and of some poetical gifts.[9]

Among his extant works are no sermons. In this respect also he stands in remarkable contrast to Basil and Ambrose. It has been said that no Bishop of Rome was known to the Church as a Preacher before S. Leo.[1]

Perhaps his distinguishing characteristic is that he was the first of the Popes who gave an impulse to Christian Archæology and Art. His name will ever be connected with the Catacombs of Rome. Since the researches of Padre Marchi, Cavaliere de Rossi, Dr. Northcote, and Mr. Brownlow, some misconceptions concerning them have been dissipated; and it is now agreed that they were so called from the name of a place, *Catacumbæ*, near the Basilica of S. Sebastian on the Appian Way, not far from the tomb of Cæcilia Metella.[2] This place was a Cemetery; and thence the name *Catacomb* was applied to other similar burial-places.

The Roman Catacombs belonged to the primitive

[9] S. Jerome says of him, Scrip. Eccl. 103, "Damasus Romanæ urbis Episcopus, elegans in versibus componendis ingenium habuit, multaque et brevia opuscula heroico metro edidit et prope octogenarius sub Theodosio principe mortuus." In this summary of his character Jerome does not mention his theology. His poems, letters, and other works may be seen in Migne's Patrologia, xiii. 347—418.

[1] Vales. ad Soz. vii. 19. But this statement must be received with some abatements, as is shown in my Hippolytus, p. 17.

[2] Full and accurate information on the Catacombs will be found in the learned article of Canon Venables in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, pp. 294—317, to which may be added the interesting paper on the prevalent misconceptions concerning the Catacombs in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1880.

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Christian Church,[3] and were used for Christian religious assemblies as well as for Christian burial-places, but not (or very rarely) for other interments. They were under the care of Christian Priests and Deacons,[4] and were not employed for such purposes after the taking of Rome by Alaric in A.D. 410.[5]

Pope Damasus, who in his early youth had been a notary of the Roman Church, opened these catacombs, cleared the galleries, made staircases to facilitate the descent to them; he also restored and adorned the tombs, and composed epitaphs in verse, engraved by the hand of Furius Dionysius Filocalus, in a special character remarkable for its beauty, on the graves of the Martyrs.[6]

We may well suppose that Damasus had a serious purpose in what he did in this respect; that he wished to teach the present by the past; and that in degenerate days of ease and luxury he desired to quicken the faith and stimulate the courage of the Roman Christians of the fourth century by the sufferings and heroism of their primitive forefathers.

It is to be regretted that the Catacombs have received so little notice from Church Historians.[7] They place before the eye a vivid picture of the life of the early Church. In their structure, their extent, their obscurity; in their Scriptural paintings,

[3] These statements are proved by De Rossi, in his Roma Sotterranea, and Articles in Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 1ma Serie, ii. 25—32, 59, 60—62; iii. 23, 89—93. Cp. 2nda Serie, iv. 50—55, 162; v. 136—140; vi. 82.

[4] De Rossi, Bullettino, 2nda Serie, ii. 64; iv. 10.

[5] Ibid. 1ma Serie, i. 5, 23, 80; ii. 64; and 2nda Serie, iii. 20.

[6] Ibid. 1ma Serie, i. 7—21, 42, 90; ii. 44, 56, 63; iii. 33; iv. 16, 28; vi. 27; and 2nda Serie, i. 46, 148; iii. 31; iv. 34.

[7] Cp. Stanley on the Eastern Churches, p. lviii.

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their sculptures, their inscriptions, their simple and rude epitaphs, often ill-spelt, they are like pages in the History of the Ancient Church, which will be read with profit and delight.

Damasus occupied the See of Rome for eighteen years. He died on Dec. 10, A.D. 384, nearly eighty years old. He was buried, in a church near the Catacombs on the way to Ardea, by the side of his mother and sister Irene, for whom he had composed an epitaph,[8] as well as for himself,[9] and was succeeded by Siricius, who held the Papal throne till Nov. 26, A.D. 398.

[8] Carm. 31, "Hîc soror est Damasi,—nomen si quæris, Irene." She had given herself to the service of Christ, and died in her twentieth year. The piety and love of her brother are beautifully expressed in this epitaph; and we must not complain that the verses of Damasus are not equal in literary merit or in metrical correctness to those of Ambrose. It is remarkable that the works of Damasus contain verses addressed to Christ, Carm. (1—6), and to St. Paul (Carm. 7), but (as far as I am aware) none to the Blessed Virgin, nor to St. Peter.

[9] Carm. 34. In Carm. 33 he says that he had wished to repose near the remains of the earlier Martyrs, but was unwilling to disturb their bones,—

"Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare piorum."

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CHAPTER V.

Pontificate of Siricius—On the Continency of Priests.

THE Pontificate of Siricius is a memorable era in the history of the Church. He is the first Bishop of Rome who is known[1] to have issued one of those documents which are commonly called Decretals, and which have exercised so powerful an influence on doctrine and discipline. In the case of Siricius, the decretal was not put forth by the Bishop of Rome on his own single authority, but after deliberation with his Clergy.[2] The date of its issue was A.D. 385. It is addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona in Spain.

The main purpose of this Decretal was, not to forbid the Clergy to marry, but to enforce continency on them. Some other minor matters are dealt with in it. It confirms (c. 1) the decree of former Councils that Novatians and Arians are not to be re-baptized. In c. 2 it prescribes that no

[1] See p. 623 of the work of the learned Benedictine, Pierre Coustant, Epistolæ Romanorum Pontificum, Paris, 1721. This series is carried down to A.D. 440. "C'est la première décrétale que nous ayons des Papes," says the learned Tillemont, xii. 701, and so Fleury, Hist. Eccl. xviii. 34.

These and other Works of Siricius are in Migne's Patrologia, xiii. 1134—1195.

[2] "In conventu fratrum," p. 623, ed. Coustant.

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baptisms of adults are to be administered except at Easter and Whitsuntide. Infants are to be baptized at any time.

But the principal enactment of the Decretal is in the seventh chapter of it. There Siricius deplores the spiritual condition of the western provinces, in consequence of violations of what he describes as the Canons of the Church. "We hear," he says, "with the deepest distress of mind that very many priests and deacons, during several years after their ordination, are fathers of children[3] from their own wives, and even from other women; and that for their sin they plead the practice of the Priests of the Levitical dispensation, who after the discharge of their sacerdotal duties at Jerusalem returned to their homes and cohabited with their wives."

Siricius argues that as Christian Priests are obliged to discharge their sacerdotal duties *every day*,[4] they ought to live apart altogether from the society of their wives; and he refers to the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 5 and 7) in defence of this assertion. He proceeds to declare the penalties for the infraction

[3] Siricius did not enforce clerical celibacy, but clerical continency; he did not forbid married men to be ordained, but he forbade them to live *as married men*.

[4] See pp. 630, 631, and p. 655 ad Afros: "Quod dignum et pudicum et honestum est, suademus ut sacerdotes et levitæ cum uxoribus suis non coeant, *quia* in ministerio (positi) ministerii *quotidiani* necessitatibus occupantur." The arguments and precepts of Siricius were afterwards reproduced by Pope Innocent I., A.D. 404, Epist. ad Victricium, ed. Coustant., p. 752, who says that the Aaronic Priests were allowed to have wives, and to cohabit with them, because the Aaronic priesthood was hereditary (as if it would have been made hereditary by God, if the cohabitation of Priests with their wives was sinful), pp. 752, 753. See also Innocent ad Exuperium Episcopum Tolosanum, ibid. pp. 791, 792, whence it appears that the decretal of Siricius on this matter was not generally acted on.

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of this rule. They who through ignorance have broken it may be continued in their office, if they promise continency for the future; but they who wilfully presume to violate it, are pronounced to be degraded by the authority of the Apostolic See from all ecclesiastical dignity.[5]

He complains that persons who have been twice married, or who have married widows, have been ordained to the Diaconate and Priesthood. This is also forbidden.[6]

Siricius orders that this decretal should be communicated to all his fellow-Bishops; not only to those in the diocese of Himerius, but to all of South-western and Western Spain and Carthage, and all neighbouring provinces, so that its injunctions may be generally observed.

This decretal, issued from Rome on Feb. 3, A.D. 385, and enforcing clerical continency, is important not only in relation to the question with which it deals, but with regard to many others of a similar character.

There can be no doubt that this Pontifical decree was put forth with an excellent intention.

Siricius was an eye-witness of the disorders prevailing among the clergy as well as the laity of Rome, to which we have already referred. Especially was he conscious of the mischief, abuses, and scandals which arose from the familiar connexion and cohabitation of Priests and Deacons with women whom they called their "*sisters*," and their "*beloved ones*,"[7]

[5] P. 631. This is also repeated by Siricius "ad Gallos," p. 690.

[6] P. 632.

[7] ἀγαπητὰς, συνεισάκτους, subintroductas, sorores, "Agapetarum pestis," says S. Jerome, Epist. ad Eustoch. Cp. Socr. ii. 26. This (as

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and against which S. Cyprian[8] at Carthage and other Bishops had raised their voices in the language of stern rebuke and condemnation, and which had been censured by the Council of Nicæa.[9] We may also suppose that the Bishop of Rome desired to promote sanctity among the superior Clergy, and undivided attention to their priestly duties; and he appealed to Apostolic authority on behalf of such an intention, and in favour of continency as a higher spiritual state than that of marriage.[1]

Pope Siricius does not appear to have been a person of vigorous intellect, deep learning, or of large and comprehensive views. Even S. Jerome,[2] a strenuous advocate of celibacy, asserts this; and his other writings display symptoms of haughty waywardness of temper, and intemperate violence of language.[3]

Siricius refers to St. Paul, but he seems to forget that the Apostle tempers his own personal wishes with wisdom and charity. St. Paul remembered that he had to do with human nature and its infirmities, and that God had instituted Marriage in Paradise, and had blessed it, so that it might "be fruitful, and increase and multiply" (Gen. i. 28), and that the holy men of old, Patriarchs and Priests and Prophets,

we shall see) was also one of the social evils with which S. Chrysostom had to contend in the East; below, chaps. xviii. xix.

[8] S. Cyprian, Epist. 6 and 7 (al. 14 and 13), and 62 ad Pomponium (al. 4).

[9] Canon. Nicæn. 3. They were forbidden by the Councils of Eliberis (c. 27), Ancyra (c. 19), Carth. (iii. 17).

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 1, 5, 7, 34, 38.

[2] See Jerome, Epist. 96, p. 782, where he speaks of Siricius conniving at the Origenistic heresy, and the "simplicitas Episcopi, qui de suo ingenio cæteros æstimabat."

[3] Siricius, Epist. vii. p. 663, contra Jovinian. A.D. 389. He speaks of Jovinian and his associates as animated "spiritu diabolico," and "intra se continentes nequitiæ virus," and pronounces them "nostro judicio in perpetuum damnatos."

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lived in the estate of Matrimony, and had children; that new dignity had been given to Marriage by the Incarnation of the Son of God; and that it was an "excellent mystery," signifying and representing the spiritual marriage and mystical unity of Christ and His Church (Eph. v. 28—33), and had been adorned and beautified by Christ's first miracle that He wrought at Cana in Galilee (John ii. 1—11).

The Apostle therefore declared that Marriage is honourable in all men (Heb. xiii. 4), and he says, "Let every man have his own wife" (1 Cor. vii. 2). He remembered that Priests and Deacons are men with human affections, and that their nature is God's work; and that though it may be desirable for those "to whom it is given," as our Lord says (Matt. xix. 12), and who, as St. Paul repeats, adopting the language of Christ, have "received their proper gift from God, which one man has and another has not" (1 Cor. vii. 7), to embrace voluntary celibacy, as St. Paul himself did; yet he also affirms that it would have been lawful for him to do otherwise, and "to lead about a wife, as the other Apostles did, and as the brethren of the Lord did, and as Peter did" (1 Cor. ix. 5). And in the Apostle's injunctions as to ordinations of Priests and Deacons, it is presumed that they will for the most part be married men, and will have children (1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 12. Titus i. 6).

He declares also that it is a contravention of the doctrine of the mystery of the Incarnation—"God manifest in the flesh," and "a departure from the faith," and a compliance with the impulse of "seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," to *forbid to marry*, and to command, "to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving" (1 Tim. iii. 16; iv. 1—4).

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The Apostle also commands married persons to "render to one another due benevolence," and he forbids the enforcement of conjugal separation; while, for holy purposes, he advises continency, by mutual consent, for a season (1 Cor. vii. 3—5).

Siricius does not appear to have considered these things which are delivered by the Holy Spirit in Scripture.

There was no doubt a struggle on this matter in the fourth century. On the one side the Council of Neo-Cæsarea in 314 condemned Priests' marriages;[4] on the other, that of Ancyra allowed them;[5] and the later Council of Gangra condemned those who would separate husbands from wives, on the plea of zeal for continency, or who scrupled to receive the communion from married Priests.[6] The protest of the venerable Paphnutius at Nicæa (above, i. 497)—and the adhesion of the Council to that protest—against those who would have imposed celibacy on the Priesthood, might have deterred a wiser and more learned man than Siricius from putting forth the decretal which stands at the head of the Code of edicts of the See of Rome. But Siricius could urge the plea of good intention, and could not anticipate the future, or profit by the teaching of experience.

The conflict of opinion and practice in this matter continued for some time. In some parts of the Western Church, for example in Gaul, the decretal of Siricius seems to have been resisted, as he himself complains.[7] But the Western Church, being more

[4] Above, vol. i. p. 412.

[5] Above, vol. i. p. 411.

[6] Above, vol. ii. p. 243. The well-balanced reasons of the Council for their enactments deserve careful attention. Ibid. p. 244.

[7] Siricius ad Gallos Episcopos, Epist. x. 689, "Non servatur quod

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under Roman influence, gradually acquiesced in the Papal decree, especially after its renewal by Pope Innocent I., A.D. 404;[8] and Pope Leo I.[9] extended it to Sub-deacons in A.D. 446.[1]

But the Eastern Church was not so tractable.[2] The history of Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, A.D. 410, is well known.[3] Egypt was the region of Monasteries, and celibacy was in high esteem; but Synesius, the celebrated Christian Platonist, when invited to the Episcopate, declared to the Primate, Theophilus, that he would not renounce the society of his wife, and that he hoped to be the father of many virtuous children; and he was consecrated with that understanding. Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus, the father of the Patriarch of Constantinople, was married when ordained to his holy office;[4] and Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa,[5] was a married man.[6] But the most remark-

admonetur utiliter; Apostolica mandata contemnuntur quasi ignota." Jerome in A.D. 414, Epist. 97, p. 787, speaks of a married Priest at Rome with two daughters and sons; and Augustine gives similar evidence; see below, chap. xv.

[8] Coustant, p. 752. See above, p. 98, note.

[9] Leo I., Epist. ad Anastasium, 446.

[1] Pope Leo, A.D. 443 (in his Epistle to the Italian Bishops, "Ut nobis") declares that the husbands of widows and digamists are not to be made priests, and A. D. 444 to Anastasius and the Bishops of Illyricum ("Omnis admonitio"), that the "Canons require that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons should be husbands of one wife, and have married her when a virgin;" and to the Bishops of Mauritania, and to Anastasius of Illyricum (A. D. 446), that digamists or husbands of widows are not to be made bishops. It appears, therefore, that married men were not debarred (under certain conditions) from ordination; they might have wives, but were ordered to live as if they had none.

[2] See Socr. v. 22, who mentions many married Bishops and fathers of children.

[3] Synesius, Epist. 105, ad fratrem.

[4] See above, vol. ii. 289—291.

[5] Vol. ii. 293.

[6] Compare Bingham, Antiquities, iv. 5, who shows that "no Vow of Celibacy was required of the Clergy as a condition of their Ordination for the first three centuries."

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able document from the ancient Eastern Church is the decree of the Council of Trullo,[7] A.D. 692. The thirteenth Canon of that Council says, "Inasmuch as we understand that it is decreed by the *Roman* Church, that all Priests and Deacons at their Ordination shall declare that they will not cohabit with their wives after it, we,[8] conforming ourselves to the ancient canon of Apostolic strictness and order, do will that the lawful marriages of persons in holy orders shall remain firm and established; and in no wise do we dissolve their cohabitation with their wives, nor deprive them of the use of wedlock at fit seasons. Therefore, if any one who is married is found willing to be ordained Sub-deacon, Deacon, or Priest, he is not to be debarred from Ordination, nor is he to be required to declare at ordination that he will cease to cohabit with his lawful wife; lest we should seem to disparage Wedlock, which has been instituted and blessed by God, Who declares, 'What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder;' and as the Apostle teaches, 'Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled;' who also says, 'Art thou tied to a wife? seek not to be loosed.'

[7] I.e. at Constantinople, in the apartment so called (τροῦλλον) in the Palace. It is sometimes called Concilium Quinisextum, as enforcing the decrees of the fifth and sixth General Councils. The decrees may be seen in Labbe's Concilia, vi. 1136—1188; Bruns' Concilia, i. p. 41; and in Bp. Beveridge's Synodicon, i. 152—283. This last work has the advantage of the commentaries of the learned Greek Canonists, Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristænus, who flourished in the twelfth century, and represent its usages.

[8] It is remarkable that the advice of Paphnutius at the Nicene Council, and also this protest of the Easterns against the Roman decretal, are inserted in the body of the *Roman* Canon Law, much to the credit of its framers. See Jus Canon. Decret. 1ma Pars, Dist. 31, c. 13, p. 99, ed. Lips. 1839; cp. Bp. Gibson, Codex, i. p. 441.

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"We know also that at the Council of Carthage[9] it was ordered, for the gravity and dignity of the Clergy, that Sub-deacons, Deacons, and Priests, at the prescribed *time of their ministration*, should abstain from their wives. And we confirm this rule, which has been delivered by the Apostles, and observed from ancient times, having regard to due seasons, especially of fasting and prayer (1 Cor. vii. 4, 5); and we order that all those who wait at the altar should at such times observe this rule.

"But if any one contravenes the Apostolic Canons, and interdicts Sub-deacons, Deacons, and Priests from cohabiting with their wives, let him be deposed; and similarly let Sub-deacons, Deacons, and Priests be excommunicated, if on plea of piety they put away their wives; and if they persist, let them be deposed."

The learned Greek Canonists, Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristænus, writing in the twelfth century,[1] confirm this protest of the Eastern Church against the Roman enforcement of Celibacy,[2] and on the separation of Priests from their wives. Zonaras and Aristænus also observe (p. 170) that by the fifth of the Apostolic Canons it is enacted that no Bishop, Priest, or Deacon shall put away his wife on the plea of sanctity, and that if he does, he is to be excommunicated; and if he persists, is to be deposed. And those two writers remark that in the twelfth Canon of the Council of Trullo (p. 169) it is said that "in Africa, Libya, and

[9] Balsamon says that this refers to Concil. Carth. iii. 3, 25, and 60, and compares the third Canon of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria.

[1] Beveridge, Synodicon, i. p. 172.

[2] See also Bishop Beveridge's notes, tom. ii. p. 18, on the fifth Apostolic Canon on the marriage of Bishops and Priests; and ibid. pp. 126, 130, he observes that the Council of Trullo is styled by the Greeks "a holy Œcumenical Synod."

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other places Bishops cohabit with their wives; but as this gives offence to some, we prohibit this, not that we would abrogate what has been constituted by Apostolic authority, but in order to remove offence from the people, and to promote the dignity of the Episcopal office, and the salvation of souls."

The Greek Canonists, observing that this twelfth Canon of Trullo was enacted to prevent popular offence, seem to imply that wherever no popular offence is given by such unions, the Canon is not obligatory.

In the sixth Canon of Trullo clerks are forbidden to marry *after* ordination. Aristænus, commenting on this Canon in the twelfth century, says that they ought to marry *before* it.[3]

However, notwithstanding the opposition of the Easterns, the decretal of Pope Siricius has been maintained in force by the Church of Rome for 1500 years. It received fresh vigour from Gregory VII. Hildebrand, in a Synod held at Rome in A.D. 1074, who went beyond Siricius, and commanded that those Clergy who were married should put away their wives or be deposed, and that none should be ordained who did not make a vow of celibacy.

The consequences of this enactment are too well known; and it is not uncharitable to add that they are too hateful and hideous to relate.[4]

There was therefore much wisdom—derived, under

[3] Beveridge, Syn. i. 163. Dean Stanley on the Eastern Church, p. 48, says, "In the East, for the Clerical body" (not the Bishops) "Marriage" (before Ordination) "is not only permitted and frequent, but compulsory and almost universal." "In one instance, that of the Nestorian Christians, the Patriarch is allowed to marry."

[4] They may be seen, with the original authorities, in Henry Wharton's learned Treatise on the Celibacy of the Clergy, ed. London, 1688, pp. 118, 164, 165; and cp. S. Bernard, Sermon 66 in Cantica.

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God's Providence, from the experience of twelve centuries—in the language of the English Legislature[5] in the second year of King Edward VI.

After reciting the benefits of single life for Priests, "as better for their estimation," and as giving them freedom from cares of a household, it says that it were better that they should "willingly endeavour themselves to a perpetual chastity;" yet "forasmuch as the contrary hath been rather seen, and such uncleanness of living and other great inconveniences, not meet to be rehearsed, have followed from such laws as have prohibited those persons the godly use of Marriage, therefore it were better that those which could not contain should, after the counsel of Scripture, live in holy Marriage, than feignedly abuse, with worse enormity, single life."[6]

I have dwelt the longer on this subject, because it is a specimen of a large class of important questions, which meet the student of Church History in the fourth century, and which require much discrimination and delicacy of handling. Let me here therefore submit to the reader some observations of a general character

[5] 2 Edward VI. c. 21. Cp. Bp. Gibson, Codex, i. p. 439; Dr. Ridley's Life of Ridley, p. 257. The dissolute lives of some Roman Pontiffs a little before the Reformation, or at it, are described in Dr. Gloucester Ridley's excellent Life of Bishop Ridley, p. 294. Bishop Gardiner of Winchester was son of Bishop Lionel Woodville of Salisbury (ibid. p. 101), and Bishop Bonner of London was son of a Priest at Devenham, in Cheshire, and Bishops Gardiner and Bonner had children (ibid. pp. 257, 292—294).

[6] See XXXIX Articles, Art. XXXII.: "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are not commanded by God's Law either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from Marriage; therefore it is lawful also for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness."

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upon them, in order to avoid repetitions of similar remarks upon those questions as they arise.

Such questions, for example, are the *Invocation of Saints*, *Auricular Confession*, *Vows of Celibacy*, the public encouragement of *Prayers for the dead*, *Masses for the dead*, and *Adoration of relics*.

If these practices are to be accepted by the Church as necessary parts of her system, then the enforcement of the rule against the cohabitation of the Clergy with their wives must be accepted also, as having equal authority, at least in the Western Church, in its favour.[7]

Such practices as these were due to pious intentions and to zeal for the divine honour and worship, or for sanctity and purity in life; and they sprang from some of the tenderest or noblest affections and aspirations of the human heart, and contained in them some elements of truth, which were not only amiable, but edifying.

Doubtless also those who originally proposed or advocated them, augured beneficial consequences from them for the Church of God, and for His glory. Perhaps also we may say without uncharitableness, that many persons, especially Roman Pontiffs, were tempted by the love of power, which is natural to the human heart, and which beguiled them to look for greater—and as they thought more salutary—spiritual influence for the Priesthood and for the Papacy from these practices.

These important truths have been well demonstrated by theologians, particularly by the learned Isaac Casaubon, in a letter written at London, in conjunc-

[7] See Dr. (now Cardinal) Newman's elaborate note, in his translation of Fleury, on this subject, Church Hist. book xix. 22, pp. 181, 182.

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tion with Bishop Andrewes, in the name of King James I., to Cardinal Perron,[8] Nov. 9, 1611; and by Dr. Isaac Barrow, in his treatise on the Pope's Supremacy;[9] and by Dr. Richard Bentley,[1] in his Sermon at Cambridge, Nov. 5, 1717.

Thus, for example, they who encouraged prayers for the dead (which, *in a certain sense*, as will be hereafter shown, are justly due from us to the *faithful departed*, as members of the Communion of Saints) could not have foreseen the subsequent development of that practice in the doctrines of Merit and of Purgatory, and in the traffic of Indulgences, and the sale of Masses for the departed, and all the consequent evils which brought so much scandal on the Priesthood, and so much demoralization into the Church.

[8] May I be allowed to mention some personal reminiscences in connexion with this admirable Epistle? It was, as I well remember, a favourite work with the late Archbishop Howley, and with others like him, now at rest. But it lay almost buried in the large folio Volume of Isaac Casaubon's Epistles (Roter. 1709, pp. 489—506); and it seemed well that it should be disinterred for the use of clergy and laity; and it was therefore reproduced by me in a separate form, with the help of my friend Canon Meyrick, among the publications of the Anglo-Continental Society, Lond. 1875. It was a pleasant surprise to me to find that by a happy coincidence the same thing was done (in a republication of the same letter in the old English translation of 1612) by my dear Brother in Christ, Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, whose friendship I had the happiness of forming at the Congress of Old Catholics at Cologne in 1872, and whose memory is revered and beloved, for his piety, learning, and charity, by the whole of the Anglo-American Communion. Both these works appeared simultaneously, without any concert between us, in 1875.

[9] Barrow's Works, vol. vi. p. 231, ed. Oxford, 1818; or Part v. pp. 94—185, folio, London, 1683.

[1] In Bentley's Works, ed. Dyce, Lond. 1838, iii. 248—256. The materials of this celebrated Sermon are derived in great measure from the work of his learned predecessor in the Mastership of Trinity College, Dr. Isaac Barrow, on the Pope's Supremacy.

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Those learned writers, Bishop Andrewes, Casaubon, Barrow, Bentley, and others, showed that the evils and abuses which the Church suffered under some of the successors of Pope Siricius from the development of such practices, proceeded from small beginnings, and in almost all cases, from good intentions and from pious and charitable affections, which were encouraged in the first instance by zealous and holy men.

In a word, it may be accepted as a fundamental principle, to be recognized by every thoughtful student of Church History, that while the Great Head of the Church, according to His true promise to her, is ever overruling evil for good, and eliciting good from evil for her benefit, the great Enemy of the Church is ever endeavouring to pervert good into evil, and to educe evil out of good. God uses bad things well, but the Devil uses good things ill. Out of poison God brings honey, the Devil changes honey into poison.[2]

[2] The wise cautionary words of a Poet of our own concerning the pious and holy source from which one of these practices—viz. Prayers for the dead—flowed, and the consequences to which it led; and the subtle temptations by which some are unconsciously beset who are invested with spiritual and sacerdotal power, are not out of place here—

"Ah, when the Body, round which in love we clung,
Is chill'd by death, does mutual service fail?
Is tender pity then of no avail?
Are intercessions of the fervent tongue
A waste of hope? From this sad source have sprung
Rites that console the Spirit under grief,
Which ill can brook more rational relief:
Hence, prayers are shaped amiss, and dirges sung
For Souls whose doom is fix'd! The way is smooth
For Power that travels with the human heart:
Confession ministers the pang to soothe
In him who at the ghost of guilt doth start.
Ye holy Men, so earnest in your care,
Of your own mighty instruments beware!"

Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Sonnets, Sonnet xx.

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But to return. We who live now, and can look back on more than eighteen centuries, are in a better condition to form a just judgment upon them than those good men who first promoted them—not by any merit of our own, but because we can test those practices by their fruits. For example, Siricius and his contemporaries who enforced the separation of the Clergy from their wives could not have foreseen the tide of corruptions which flowed from that enforcement. And the holy men who gave some encouragement in a qualified manner to such an enforcement were not conscious of its consequences.

Not therefore in any vainglorious spirit of self-exaltation, as if we were worthy to be named with the Ambroses or Jeromes or Augustines or Chrysostoms of the fourth century, but in humble thankfulness to Almighty God for affording us that teaching which they had not, and which Experience alone can give, and which would probably have modified their teaching if they had possessed it, we may sum up the arguments on this and similar questions by the following propositions :—

1. The final Court of Appeal in all these matters is HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Holy Scripture is not only of *supreme* Authority in these matters, but it is *sufficient* also ; that is to say, nothing is to be required of necessity, in doctrine or in the *essentials*[3] of Christian worship, which is not read in Holy Scripture, or cannot be proved thereby.

2. The sense of Holy Scripture in such matters is

[3] I say *essentials*, such as *objects* of worship in public prayer, and *subjects* of public prayer ; because the ceremonial *accidents* of Ritual, as to posture, dress, &c., of the Minister, which are left undetermined in Holy Scripture, are to be regulated by the authority of National Churches.

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that sense which can be shown to have been accepted as the true meaning of Scripture by the judgment —and to have been expressed in the practice—of the Apostolic or Sub-Apostolic Churches; and not any other sense which any private person may assign to it on his own authority, or any sense which can be shown to be not primitive, but to have been first introduced at a time much later than the age of the Apostles—namely, in the fourth or fifth centuries.

Such practices cannot be said to stand the test of truth contained in the words, "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus." What can neither be proved from Scripture, nor confirmed by Apostolic practice and primitive Antiquity, has no claims to *universality;* and has no pretensions to be received as true.

We shall have occasion to revert hereafter to these questions seriatim,[4] when we come to speak of controversies concerning them.

Still less can any doctrine or practice be accepted which does not even profess to have the warrant of Holy Scripture or of primitive Antiquity in its favour.

3. "By their fruits ye shall know them." If the doctrine or practice in question can be shown by an appeal to the history of the Church (and here is an inestimable benefit of Church history) to have led by natural consequence to results in doctrine, worship, and morals, which are irreconcilable with God's Will and Word, and derogatory to His Glory, and to have been detrimental to Christian piety and holiness, then we may rest assured that such practices, however specious in their first appearance, and however

[4] In chapter vii.

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commended by the sanctity, piety, good intentions and learning of their original promoters, are not to be accepted by Christian congregations as of divine institution, or as integral parts of the heritage of the Catholic Church.

4. The first decretal, generally recognized as such, which was put forth by a Bishop of Rome, was that of Pope Siricius, which separated Bishops and Priests from their lawful wives, and was contrary to Nature and Holy Scripture. This was ominous.

It was necessary to note this. But we gladly turn now to a brighter side of the picture.

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CHAPTER VI.

S. Jerome's place in Church History; his personal character and work.

IN the companionship of St. Peter and St. John, as seen in Holy Scripture, especially in the Acts of the Apostles, the ancient Fathers recognized a union of the practical with the contemplative life of the Church. It is a happy thing for her when these elements are combined in the same person, as was the case in S. Ambrose, the brave and energetic Bishop of Milan, and the diligent student of Holy Scripture and of Greek and Latin theological literature, and the eloquent Preacher to the people in a great city; and in his illustrious scholar, S. Augustine. Both those saints and doctors of the Church united the two lives in themselves; they blended the studious habits of a college with the energetic discharge of the laborious duties of the Episcopate.

But various are the gifts received by the Church from her Divine Head, as seen in the different lives of her saints and teachers.

In order that none may be elated by pride, gifts are bestowed on some which are denied to others; and serious defects often co-exist with great intellectual and spiritual endowments. The divine gifts are also

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variously affected by the physical and moral temperaments of those who receive them. This is exemplified in the life of S. Jerome, whose work in the Church forms a natural sequel to that of the two Bishops of Rome whose acts have been described, Damasus and Siricius.

S. Jerome was for some time the secretary and counsellor of the former, and lived through the Pontificate of the latter, and for many years after it; and though he dwelt during the greater part of his life in the East at Bethlehem, yet, in some respects, especially with regard to Biblical Criticism and the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, no one has exercised so powerful an influence over the Western Church as S. Jerome.[1]

We may recognize also in him the providential arrangement which has been made for "divers orders" as well as for "different estates" in the Church by her Divine Head.

Certain functions and ministrations have been assigned by Him to the Episcopate; others hardly less important have been reserved for the second Order of the Ministry, that of the Priesthood.

It is doubtful whether among their distracting cares and active labours any of the great Bishops of the Church could have done for the Text of Holy Scripture and for its Translation, what by God's goodness was effected with patient toil and drudgery by two Presbyters, one in the Greek, the other in the Latin Church—Origen and Jerome.

[1] This truth is thus expressed in the Roman Breviary, in the Collect for his festival, Sept. 3:—"Deus, Qui Ecclesiæ Tuæ in exponendis *Sacris Scripturis* beatum Hieronymum Confessorem Tuum Doctorem maximum providere dignatus es;—"

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The labours of the former have been already described ;[2] we shall speak hereafter of the latter. In S. Jerome also we see a picture such as a Rembrandt or Salvator Rosa might have drawn in the natural world, of the bright lights and dark shadows, the sunshine and the storm, of monastic life, as contrasted with the pastoral landscape of the active secular life, displayed in his younger contemporary S. Augustine. This spiritual *chiaroscuro* is full of interest and instruction.

S. Jerome was a Priest, but it is doubtful whether he ever preached a single sermon, or administered a single Eucharist. His early life was a series of sudden changes and strong contrasts. Born about A.D. 347,[3] amid a rude and almost barbarous people, at the village of Stridon, between Pannonia and Dalmatia, in the Alpine region to the north-east of the Adriatic, he was brought at an early age to Rome, where he studied under the celebrated teacher Donatus, and wandered and played in the catacombs —a scene favourable to imagination and faith—and became a proficient in all the liberal studies of the day; and, being possessed of a fair patrimony, he purchased a good collection of books, and became eminent as a rhetorician and an advocate.

In that licentious capital he was exposed to many temptations, by which he was beguiled and entangled, as he himself confesses.[4]

[2] Above, vol. i. p. 270.

[3] The date of Jerome's birth is not certain. Some place it earlier. In his Commentary on Habakkuk, cap. iii., he says that he was "yet a boy" (adhuc puer) studying grammar, when he heard of the death of the Emperor Julian, which occurred on June 26, A.D. 363." Cp. Tillemont, xii. 618. He uses the words "pene puer" as equivalent to "adolescens" in his letter to Nepotian, p. 257.

[4] Epist. 7, p. 13 and p. 14, written A.D. 366. "Ego in scelerum meo-

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At Rome, however, he was baptized, and he soon tore himself from its pleasures and vices, which he loathed and despised; and having imbibed a passionate love for the monastic life, which had, as we have seen, found many admirers, especially among the high-born ladies of that capital, he went to the East—to Constantinople, to Cæsarea, and to Antioch, where he was joined by some enthusiastic friends from Aquileia—Rufinus, Bonosus, Heliodorus—also enamoured of asceticism and solitude as a higher spiritual life.

From Antioch, by the persuasion of the venerable hermit Malchus (whose life he afterwards wrote), he made a sudden plunge into the desert of Chalcis in Syria, with two friends, Hylas and Innocentius; first, into one of its monasteries, where both of his comrades died of fever, and where he himself was reduced to great bodily weakness and exhaustion by the intense heat of the climate, suddenly changed to extreme cold by the melting of the snows on Mount Lebanon. However, he resolved to make another effort of self-sacrifice, and he quitted the cœnobites of the monastery in order to be alone with God as an eremite.[5] But he could not escape from himself. In his fever-stricken frame his mind was haunted with thoughts of Rome, the scenes of his youth, the splendours and temptations of the capital. While he was in the desert with wild beasts, the solitude was peopled with figures of dancing girls. "My face was pale with fasting, but my mind was burning with lascivious desires; and from the flame of lust my passions

rum sepulcro jacens et peccatorum vinculo colligatus;—satis lubricum adolescentiæ iter, in quo et ego lapsus sum," Epist. 30, p. 242, where he says that he admires in others what he does not possess himself."

[5] Epist. 1, ad Rufinum, p. 2.

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boiled over in me when I was almost a corpse.[6] I strove night and day to master them by fasting and prayers and tears, and flung myself at the feet of Jesus, and sometimes I was transported by an ecstasy of joy to the choir of Angels, and I joined in the festive song of the Canticles: 'We will run after Thee, and the perfume of Thy ointments'" (Cant. i. 3, Vulg.).

In order to draw off his mind to healthier and holier thoughts, he next betook himself to study. He seems to have carried a good many books with him on his travels. He could not dispense with them.[7] He began with Hebrew. "While I was young," he says in one of his later Epistles[8] (when he had found by experience that cœnobitic and conventual society was better than eremitical solitude), "I was imprisoned in the loneliness of the desert. I could not bear the incentives of vice, and the heat of an ardent nature; and when I tried to subdue them with frequent fastings, still my mind was inflamed with evil thoughts, and my body inwardly burnt by a scorching fever; and in order to tame it, I put myself under the tuition of a Hebrew Christian." But the harsh sound of Hebrew letters and words jarred on his refined ear, and his delicate taste was offended by the grand simplicity of the Prophets.[9]

Often he gave up the attempt in despair, and then resumed it; and "at length, thanks be to God," he adds, "I tasted the sweet fruit of a bitter seed."

[6] Epist. 18.

[7] "Bibliothecâ, quam mihi Romæ summo studio ac labore (i.e. by transcribing many MSS.) confeceram, carere non potui," Epist. 18, p. 42.

[8] Epist. 95, p. 774, ad Rusticum, written in A.D. 411.

[9] "Sermo Prophetarum horrebat incultus."

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Eventually he became one of the best expositors of the Prophets, and the greatest Hebraist of the ancient Church, which he enriched with the priceless treasure of God's Holy Word from the pure well-spring of the Hebrew original. When baffled for a time by the difficulties of the Hebrew language, he reverted to his first love, that of classical literature. But he relates in one of his earliest letters[1] that he was severely punished in a dream for this supposed perversion to Paganism, and that he vowed that he would never again open any of the books of the Gentiles.[2] He afterwards comforted himself by the reflection that this was only a youthful reverie;[3] and his future writings showed how richly his memory was stored with Greek and Latin lore; and happily he lived to write—as S. Basil had done before him[4]—an excellent essay[5] (which shows the vast extent of his erudition) on the uses of ancient learning and classical literature to the Christian theologian. He found that solitude was not favourable to spiritual life, and he longed for the company of friends, and sent a pressing invitation to his former associate Heliodorus of Aquileia,[6] afterwards Bishop of Altinum. In order to attract him to the desert, he draws a highly coloured picture of the advantages of solitary life;

[1] Ad Eustochium, A.D. 383, p. 42.

[2] "Domino cruciatum exacturo si Gentilium libros aliquando legissem—dejerare cœpi—Domine, si legero codices sæculares, Te negavi," p. 43.

[3] Rufin. in Hieron. ii. p. 414. Jerome adv. Rufin. i. 385.

[4] Above, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

[5] Epist. 83, ad Magnum, p. 655, written A.D. 400. Compare Origen above, vol. i. p. 274, on the consecration of pagan literature to Christian uses; and Basil above, vol. ii. 265—269. S. Augustine writes in the same strain, de Doct. Christianâ, ii. 60.

[6] Epist. ad Heliod. A.D. 366, p. 6.

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but he would have toned down its hues in later days, as he himself avowed to the nephew of Heliodorus, Nepotianus, whom he instructed with admirable wisdom and eloquence in the practical duties of the Priesthood.[7] When also he had had three years' experience of monastic life, he found that it was not a life of peace. The controversy between the adherents of Meletius and Paullinus, the two Bishops at Antioch, the former supported by the Eastern, the latter by the Western Church,[8] penetrated into the cloisters and cells of the monks, and distracted them with party feuds and personal animosities.[9]

Jerome, who sided with the Westerns, was treated by the Eastern monks as a heretic, and was glad at length to retire from the wilderness, for the sake of peace, and to take refuge in the City. He went first to Antioch, and afterwards to Constantinople.

At Antioch he was ordained Priest by Paullinus, and at Constantinople, in A.D. 380, he became the friend and scholar of the great Preacher and future Archbishop of that city, Gregory Nazianzen.[1]

Jerome about this time showed his independent spirit, guided by wisdom and learning, in his eloquent treatise, in the form of a Dialogue, against the Luciferians,[2] who with rigorous intolerance (like that

[7] See p. 257, Epist. 34, written A.D. 394, de Vita Clericorum et Monachorum. He there says, "Dum essem adolescens—scripsi ad avunculum tuum—sed in illo opere pro ætate tunc lusimus."

[8] See above, vol. ii. 170.

[9] Especially on the sense of the word *hypostasis* (Jerome, Epist. 14, p. 20; Epist. 15, p. 21; Epist. 16, p. 22), which the Westerns were reluctant to receive as equivalent to *person*. They maintained that there was only *one hypostasis* in the Godhead. The wise toleration of Athanasius ended the verbal strife, while it maintained the true faith. See above, vol. ii. pp. 170, 225.

[1] Above, vol. ii. p. 310.

[2] So called from Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, who with

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of the Novatians and Donatists) would have annulled the holy orders of those Bishops and Priests who had lapsed into Arianism, and returned from it to the Church. The Luciferians denied the validity of the Sacraments administered by those Bishops and Priests, and rebaptized those who had received baptism at their hands. S. Jerome in this Dialogue supplied many forcible arguments, of which our own divines, especially Richard Hooker,[3] afterwards availed themselves in their controversy with the Puritans, who on the plea that the Church of Rome was heretical, alleged that she was no Church of Christ, and that the ministrations of her Bishops and Priests were null and void, and that consequently Anglican Bishops and Priests, who had been consecrated and ordained in the Church of Rome, were no Bishops and Priests at all, and that a new Church of Christ was necessary to be founded; and that they—the Puritans—were raised up by Him to be its founders, and that persons who had been baptized in heresy ought to be rebaptized by those who professed to be sound in faith.[4]

In the year 382, Jerome left Constantinople by way of Athens on his return to Rome, at the invitation of his friend Pope Damasus, in order to assist him as his Secretary, and also as Notary to the

others had consecrated Paullinus at Antioch in opposition to Meletius (Theodoret, iii. 2; Socrat. iii. 9; Sozomen, v. 12, 13; Fleury, xv. 29), and who with rash severity, and against the remonstrances of Athanasius, had refused to acknowledge the validity of the holy Orders of Bishops who had lapsed into Arianism at the Council of Ariminum, under Constantius, but afterwards renounced their heresy and returned to the Church. See above, vol. ii. pp. 21, 169, 170.

[3] Hooker, III. i. 9 and 10, where he refers to Jerome's Dialogue against the Luciferians.

[4] Hooker, V. lx. 6, where he again refers to the Dialogue of Jerome against the Luciferians.

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Council of Western Bishops at Rome in that year, among whom were Ambrose, and Ascholius of Thessalonica (who had baptized the Emperor Theodosius), and two Eastern Bishops, Epiphanius of Cyprus, and Paullinus of Antioch.[5] The acts of this Council are lost.[6]

Jerome spent three years at Rome, during which he appears to have acted as spiritual guide and instructor, especially in the Holy Scriptures, to many Roman ladies of rank, such as Marcella, Asella her sister, Paula and her daughters Blesilla and Paulina and Eustochium, and her daughter-in-law Leta, and two widow ladies, Lea and Fabiola, and others already mentioned,[7] who were wearied and distressed by the restless dissipation, the hollow emptiness, the aimless frivolity, and sensual voluptuousness of the fashionable life at Rome, and longed for a healthier and holier existence, such as could satisfy the cravings of immortal souls, meditating on the things of Eternity.

Besides, many there were, who, being alarmed by the troubles of the times, were strongly impressed with the notion that the last Antichristian struggle was at hand,[8] and that the Second Advent of Christ in glory was near, when all worldly things would be put under His feet; and that all that they saw around them was mere vanity and vexation of spirit; and they thought that they would find their aspirations realized in the calm seclusion, and quiet contemplation, and severe asceticism, of monastic life.

[5] S. Jerome, Epist. 86, p. 671; Epist. 96, p. 781.
[6] Labbe, Concil. ii. 1013.
[7] Above, chap. iv. 90, 91.
[8] Cp. Jerome, Epist. 91, p. 748.

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S. Jerome sympathized with them. He not only spurned the vanities and deplored the vices of Roman Society, ecclesiastical and civil, but with the vehement indignation and withering sarcasm of a Juvenal he described and denounced them.

To reform the morals of the Clergy by such methods as these was not a hopeful task; and he made it more unpromising by venting his scornful satire on Roman Priests and Monks, and even on pretended nuns, as well as prudish matrons, in a letter to a young Roman lady, daughter of Paula, Eustochium,[9] whom he earnestly exhorted to perpetual virginity, while he presented to her view a series of portraits,—we may charitably suppose caricatures,—of the foppish dress, the parasitical meanness, the insidious arts, the hypocritical sanctimoniousness, and scandalous libertinism of the regular and secular Clergy, drawn from the life with the keen wit of an Erasmus, and the vigorous coarseness of a Luther.[1] The reader of it may be reminded also of Molière's Tartuffe, and of the Provincial Letters of Pascal.

Jerome says[2] that he was admired by a large number of votaries, and that many persons at Rome

[9] Her patrician name was Julia; probably Eustochium was added to it as a term of endearment. Such *neuter* forms of names of *females* are found as early as in Terence, e.g. "mea Glycerium," Andr. i. 1. 107.

[1] In this Epistle "ad Eustochium de Custodia Virginitatis," written A.D. 383, which fills twenty-two folio columns in the Benedictine edition, pp. 27—49. A summary of it may be seen in M. Amédée Thierry's S. Jérome (pp. 186—196), to whom I am much indebted in this chapter.

[2] Epist. 28, ad Asellam, p. 66, written A.D. 385, "Totius in me urbis studia consonabant. Omnium pene judicio dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar. Damasus meus sermo erat." Does this mean that what Pope Damasus said, was dictated by Jerome, his secretary?

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thought him worthy of being raised to the Papacy.[3] It is not surprising that after this pasquinade on the Clergy, which they regarded as a scurrilous libel on themselves, they were not eager to join in electing him to it. Such a choice would have been a misfortune to him and to the Church. Whether he was disappointed by the election of Siricius—concerning whom he speaks slightingly,[4] and who certainly was not to him a second Damasus[5]—or whether he was disheartened by the failure of his attempts at ecclesiastical reform, or provoked by the exasperation which they excited, or repelled not only by the worldly licentiousness, but also by the illiterate rudeness[6] of many of the Clergy, some of whom identified gross ignorance with pious simplicity,[7] he quitted Rome seven months after the death of Damasus, never to return to it, having prevailed on Paula to follow him, and at length settled quietly, not in the seclusion of a hermitage nor in a savage wilderness, nor in a Convent far removed from the haunts of men, but in a place frequented by pilgrims,[8] near the grotto of our Blessed Lord's Nativity at Bethlehem.

[3] "Summum Sacerdotium" must, I think, mean "the Papacy"—not as some render it, "the Episcopate." He is referring to the vacancy caused in the Pontifical office by the death of Damasus, his patron, Dec. 11, A.D. 384.

[4] Epist. 96, de Obitu Marcellæ, p. 782. See above, p. 100.

[5] Cp. Tillemont, xii. p. 99. [6] Cp. Neander, iv. 465, 466.

[7] Jerome ad Marcellam, p. 61. "Coarse rusticity is regarded by them as the only sanctity. They call themselves disciples of fishermen, as if men are holy, because they know nothing."

[8] Jerome (in Epist. 52, p. 578) describes the crowds of pilgrims and strangers flocking to Bethlehem, so that he was exposed to continual interruptions from them. "Præ frequentiâ commeantium et peregrinorum turbis—vix diebus quadragesimæ respirare cœpi." See also Epist. 55, p. 588, "Tantis de toto orbe confluentibus turbis obruimur

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With the help of Paula's munificence he built a monastery for men, and three convents for women, and a hostel for travellers, and he opened a classical school, in which while for his own edification he gave himself to the study of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures and Christian Authors, he did not disdain to instruct his pupils in the works of Homer and Plato, Cicero and Virgil, and the Latin historians,[9] and even of lyric poets and writers of Comedy. In a word—happily for the Church—the life of S. Jerome from that time for thirty-five years was not that of a recluse, shut off from human society, but rather that of a student in a College,[1] devoting himself with heart and soul to the holiest and noblest of sciences, and holding intercourse by his writings with every part of the civilized world, and taking a sympathetic interest in everything that concerned the welfare of the Church, and exercising a powerful influence over it.

I have dwelt thus on the earlier life of S. Jerome for various reasons; first, because it shows by a striking example what may—and what may not—be hoped for from the monastic state, and also from the eremitical; and what may also be expected from the collegiate life, as distinguished from both.

Secondly, because it is not possible to form a

Monachorum," who fled for refuge to Bethlehem from the inroads of the barbarians.

[9] Rufin. Apol. ii. p. 420.

[1] It is well observed by Neander (iv. 465) that "Bethlehem, the place of resort for many monks" (and pilgrims, and other strangers), "now became the seat of Jerome's activity, where under his guidance young men were educated in sacred studies, and where, by his voluminous works, especially on the Sacred Scriptures, he conferred great benefits on the Western Church. At that time there was formed in and near Jerusalem a noble society of like-minded theologians."

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right estimate of the influence of Jerome's controversial and other works—whether for good or evil to the Church—except by considering his peculiar temperament, and by examining the time at which, and the circumstances under which, those works respectively were written.

Lastly, because we could not otherwise recognize fully the benefits which the Church of every land and age has derived from the love and wisdom of that good Providence, which, we might almost also say, like the star in the heavens which guided the Magi of old—led Jerome to Palestine, and brought him at last, after weary wanderings, to Bethlehem.

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CHAPTER VII.

Controversial writings of S. Jerome as to Worship and Ritual—Perpetual Virginity of the Mother of our Lord—Virginity and Marriage; Vows of Virginity—Prayers for the dead—Veneration of Martyrs and their relics—Miracles—Origin of these practices; and excess of reaction against them.

THE diversity of gifts bestowed on Saints and Fathers of the Church; their different use of their gifts according to their various temperaments; the dissimilarity of states and orders of men in the Church; all these have contributed, by their combined influence and action, to produce an aggregate result of good which could not have been otherwise attained. The Controversies also in which they were engaged, in matters of Doctrine, Discipline, Worship, Ritual, and in Ethics, have served under God's providence to confirm the truth with greater force, and to illustrate it with additional clearness. Nor is this all. Not only the varieties of men, but the diversities of country and of race, of climate and of soil, have been made conducive to the same end. The two great divisions of the Church into Eastern and Western, with their various characteristics of people and of language, have been distinguished by varieties

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of speculation and action, which have served to solve many problems in the doctrinal, ceremonial, and ethical system of the Church. A careful student of History will reap much benefit from an examination of those problems, and of their solution.

It has been well observed by one of our greatest theologians, Richard Hooker,[1] that, for reasons which he specifies, the controversies concerning the Divine Nature, the Unity of the Godhead in Three Divine Persons, the two Natures and one Person of the Son of God, and the divinity of the Holy Ghost, arose and prevailed principally in the Eastern Church; but the questions, which, when handled unwisely, led not so much to heresy as to superstition, and concerned Ritual rather than Doctrine, were of Western growth; to which it may be added, that such controversies as related to the human will, and to human duty such as Pelagianism, exercised the practical mind of the Roman world, rather than the speculative curiosity of the Greek.

As to controversies concerning Worship and Ritual, and as to the superstition which is apt to grow from misguided and ill-regulated devotion, the same Author writes in wise words, which deserve to be well weighed by all who approach the history of such controversies. "Superstition," he says,[2] "riseth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly discerned, mingleth itself with the Rites even of very Divine Services done to the Only true God, and is to be considered as a creeping and encroaching evil; an evil the first beginnings whereof are commonly harmless, so that it proveth only then to be an evil when some farther accident doth grow unto it, or itself come to farther

[1] Hooker, Eccl. Pol. V. iii. 3. [2] Ibid. § 4.

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growth. For in the Church of God sometimes it cometh to pass as in over-battle (i.e. over-fruitful) grounds, the fertile disposition whereof is good; yet because it exceedeth due proportion it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankness, things less profitable; whereby that which principally it should yield, being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nourishment, faileth. This might be exemplified even by heaps of Rites and Customs now superstitious in the greatest part of the Christian world, which in their first original beginnings, when the strength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed them (Numb. xvii. 8), no man could justly have condemned as evil."

These Rites and Ceremonies, and sundry pious opinions and religious practices associated with them, were the upgrowth of the fourth and fifth centuries, and are specially connected with the name of S. Jerome. And although other Fathers of the Church took part in controversies concerning them, they may well be considered in conjunction with Jerome's history.

1. Jerome's first controversial work, written A.D. 381 or 382,[3] was written in a worthy cause. It was a reply to Helvidius, who denied the continuance of the Virginity of the Mother of our Lord after the birth of her Divine Son, and who in maintenance of that opinion "greatly abused," says Hooker,[4] "the words of St. Matthew (i. 25), gathering thereby against the honour of the Blessed Virgin, that a thing *denied* with special circumstance doth import an opposite *affirmation* when once that circumstance is expired."

[3] Adversus Helvidium de perpetuâ Virginitate Beatæ Mariæ, tom. iv. p. 130.

[4] Hooker, E. P. V. xlv. 2.

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S. Jerome adduces good reasons for not accepting that inference of Helvidius, who also had attempted to prove his proposition from the words in that text (Matt. i. 25), "she brought forth her *firstborn* Son," arguing therefrom that the mention of a *firstborn* implies the birth of other children after the first. This Jerome also refutes, and shows successfully that the word *firstborn* is used by St. Matthew with reference to the Levitical Law,[5] requiring certain acts to be done in all cases for the *firstborn* male child, without any reference to any subsequent issue.

Helvidius also contended, from the mention of our Lord's *brethren* in Scripture,[6] that the Blessed Virgin must have had other children. To this allegation Jerome replies, that these *brethren* of our Lord were, according to a common Hebrew mode of speaking, his near relatives, probably his *cousins*.[7]

S. Jerome was here on the safe ground of Holy Scripture and primitive Antiquity; and his decision on this question has been confirmed by the authoritative judgment of the Eastern and Western Church; and the opposite opinion of the Helvidians or Antidicomarianites was condemned as heretical.[8]

The heresy of Helvidius was afterwards extended by Jovinian, who said that the Blessed Virgin ceased to be a Virgin when she brought forth our Lord. But

[5] Exod. xxxiv. 24, 20. Numb. xviii. 15.

[6] Matt. xiii. 14. Mark vi. 2. Acts i. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 5. Gal. ii. 2. Luke viii. 20. John ii. 12; vii. 3, 4.

[7] On this question, and on other solutions of it, and on the perpetual Virginity of our Blessed Lord's Mother, see Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. iii. p. 172, note, and the learned remarks of Dr. W. H. Mill on Pantheistic Principles, pp. 220—260, 304—311, and the notes, Cambridge, 1855. And may I be allowed to refer to the authorities and observations in my Introduction to the Epistle of St. James, pp. 6—11?

[8] Epiphan. Hær. 77, c. 36. Augustin. Hæres. c. 56.

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the Church condemned this proposition by referring to the prophetical Scripture which declared that the Virgin should conceive and *bring forth* a son (Isa. vii. 14. Matt. i. 23), where Virginity is predicated of her parturition as well as of her conception.[9]

At the same time, while some dishonoured the Blessed Virgin by detraction, others honoured her to excess, and worshipped her as a divinity. These were the *Collyridians*, so called by S. Jerome's friend Epiphanius,[1] Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, from the Greek word for the votive cakes which they offered to her whom they adored. Such is the infirmity of human nature, prone to run into opposite extremes.[2]

2. *On the restraint of the Priesthood from the use of Marriage.* This, as we have seen, was enforced by Pope Siricius in his decretal of A.D. 384, and had in Jerome a strenuous advocate; and this question has already engaged our attention.[3]

3. *On superiority of Celibacy to Marriage.* Jerome in his reply to Helvidius had been led to extol Virginity, and he was not content to do so without disparagement of Marriage.[4] He afterwards endeavoured to display the contrast, to the advantage of celibacy, in larger proportions and stronger colouring, in two other works, his letter to Eustochium the daughter of Paula, "de Custodiâ Virginitatis," A.D. 383,[5] and in his two books against Jovinian, A.D. 373.[6]

[9] As Bp. Pearson observes, Art. iii., referring to S. Aug. Enchir. c. 34.

[1] Epiphan. Hær. 78, c. 21, 22, and Hær. 79, c. 1.

[2] These paragraphs are borrowed from the candid and learned Roman Catholic historian, Tillemont, xii. 34.

[3] Above, chap. v. p. 113.

[4] See, adv. Helvid. p. 142, a satirical caricature of the worrying cares and frivolous amusements of a Wife and Mother, as compared with the pure and holy calm and spiritual life of a Virgin.

[5] Jerome, Epist. 18, p. 27. He wrote a work on the same subject

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In his letter to Eustochium Jerome praises her for renouncing marriage, and for devoting herself to perpetual Virginity as "a spouse of Christ,"[7] and for quitting Rome, and accompanying her mother to the monastery at Bethlehem. And he delivers precepts as to fasting, prayer, study of Scripture, and other devotional exercises, such as observance of the canonical hours, the sign of the Cross, saying grace before meals, humility, and government of the tongue, meditation on Death, Paradise, and Eternity; and lays down other rules by which she is to be guided in this higher and holier state; and warns her against the seductive arts of some Virgins, Monks, and Priests, who veiled the corruptions of the world under the specious disguise of sanctity. There is much in this letter which is very beautiful and true. It could not fail of producing a powerful effect, in consequence of certain severe provisions of the Roman Law affecting married women;[8] and also by reason of the social demoralization of Rome. And in times when all earthly possessions seemed to be in jeopardy, and Rome herself and Italy were endangered by Gothic and other warlike tribes sweeping on in successive waves of inundations threatening to overwhelm them, it is not surprising that the hearts of thoughtful and devout persons, especially defenceless and enthusiastic women, should be turned away from that sea of trouble, and look with ardent hopes and desires to the calm haven of spiritual life, and to the enduring joys of Eternity.

but in a much more temperate strain, about thirty years afterwards. Epist. 97, ad Demetriad. p. 784.

[6] P. 144.

[7] P. 27.

[8] Ambrose, Exhort. Virg. pp. 309, 310, ed. Paris, where he speaks of them as in a worse condition than slaves.

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S. Jerome in giving such exhortations felt that he could appeal to the teaching and practice of the greatest Bishop in Western Christendom, S. Ambrose, with whom he had been lately associated at Rome. Marcellina, the beloved sister of S. Ambrose, had dedicated herself to the service of God as a Virgin at Rome on a Christmas festival, and had received an allocution and benediction from the Bishop Liberius[9] on the day of her dedication.

Not indeed in all points, as to this question, did Ambrose agree with Jerome. Not in his invidious depreciation of Marriage, not in his forgetfulness of its divine institution, and of the blessing pronounced on it by God Himself, and of the holiness derived by it from the Incarnation of the Son of God, and from His mystical union with His Church, and from the earnest of the future glory of the Bride at the Marriage Feast in heaven; still less in caustic satire and passionate invectives against individuals, and in ludicrous caricatures of the petty cares incidental to conjugal life, without any acknowledgment of the infinite blessings, spiritual as well as social, of Holy Matrimony, did the Bishop of Milan associate himself with the Roman Presbyter.

Still, Ambrose agreed with Jerome in placing Virginity above Marriage.[1] At the same time he says,[2] "Let no one who has chosen Marriage censure Virginity, and let no one who observes Virginity condemn Marriage." And though he dwells on the blessedness

[9] Which is preserved by Ambrose de Virginibus, ad Marcellinam, iii. p. 242, written A.D. 377, one of his earliest works.

[1] "Bona vincula nuptiarum, sed tamen vincula; bonum conjugium, sed a jugo tractum." De Virgin. c. 6; and cp. Exhort. Virgin. c. 10, on the cares of the Married State.

[2] Ibid. c. 6.

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of Virginity for Women, he does not say much of celibacy for men.

Jovinian by his disparagement of Virginity had led many virgins to prefer Marriage; and Ambrose by his eloquence persuaded many youthful ladies of Rome to imitate his sister Marcellina, and to take a Vow of Virginity.[3]

S. Jerome in his work against Jovinian, who asserted that Virgins as such have no more merit than married women or widows,[4] unless they excel them in good works, might also plead that he had high Ecclesiastical authority on his side. Jovinian had been condemned by Siricius[5] in a Council at Rome, and afterwards by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.[6]

On reviewing this question we must revert to the original declarations of divinely inspired authority upon it. Our Blessed Lord recognized the special blessedness of those who dedicate themselves to single life for the sake of the Kingdom of God (Matt. xix. 12), and said that Marriage will not exist in the future state of angelic happiness and glory (Luke xx. 34—36). St. Paul said that it is good for a man to abstain from the "natural use" (Rom. i. 27) of marriage (1 Cor. vii. 1), and that he desires all to be as he himself was, unmarried (1 Cor. vii. 7), and that the single life is more favourable for entire devotion to God than the state of Marriage (1 Cor. vii. 32—35), and that "he who giveth his virgin in marriage doth well, but he

[3] S. Ambrose, especially in the earlier part of his Episcopate, spent much time and pains in this endeavour. See his De Virginibus, libri tres ad Marcellinam sororem, tom. iii. pp. 224—249; De Institutione Virginis, pp. 289, 305; Exhortatio Virginitatis (at Florence), pp. 306—322; De Lapsu Virginis, pp. 323—331.

[4] Jerome, iv. p. 146.

[5] Concil. ii. 1024.

[6] S. Ambrose, Epist. 42.

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that giveth her not in marriage doeth better" (1 Cor. vii. 37, 38).

But what is observable in these divine and Apostolic declarations is this, that men and women are represented as having a diversity of endowments from above, and Virginity is described as a *gift of God*, not as a *human merit* (Matt. xix. 11, 12. 1 Cor. vii. 7). Here is a fundamental difference between the teaching of some of the fathers of the fourth century, especially S. Jerome, and in some degree S. Ambrose, and that of Holy Scripture.

A shock appears to have been given to many of his own contemporaries and friends by the teaching of Jerome.

Even the son-in-law of Paula, Pammachius,[7] remonstrated with him upon it, and informed him that he had tried to suppress the copies of his work against Jovinian; and he told Jerome frankly that by his disparagement of Marriage, he, who condemned the doctrine of Jovinian, approached very nearly to the heresy of the Marcionites, who condemned Marriage.

S. Jerome in reply reasserted the privileges of Virginity. He denied that he had condemned Marriage; but he does not deny that he did not regard it as a good thing, but only as better than something worse.

The consequence of this teaching was such as might have been expected. The recognition of Divine gifts produces humility, but the assumption of human merit engenders spiritual pride. It was reserved for the wisest of the Fathers of that century, S. Augustine, to correct that erroneous teaching by showing[8]

[7] See Jerome, Apol. ad Pamm. iv. 229.

[8] In his work de Bono Conjugali, tom. vi. 541, ed. Paris, 1838. Cp. Neander, iii. 372.

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from Holy Scripture that Marriage was not merely a less evil than libertinism, nor only an indifferent and tolerable thing; but was a positive good, a great blessing from God, for the prevention of sin, and for the promotion of holiness; and that there is a conjugal chastity as well as a virginal; and that the virtue of continency ought ever to exist in the mind, but is shown in act in various forms, according to the variety of times and circumstances; and that "married persons who are humble are far more pleasing to God than single persons who are proud,"[9] as too many of them were.

It will also be remembered, that while absolutely and abstractedly St. Paul speaks of Virginity as affording special advantages for entire devotion to God, and for exemplary holiness of life, and declares that virginal gifts involve virginal duties, he does not forget that human *nature* also itself is God's *gift*, and that he carefully considers what human nature, for the most part, is; and that he qualifies his commendations of celibacy by grounding them on considerations of the *present distress* (in 1 Cor. vii. 26) in which the Christian Church was, in that age of persecution; and that he condemns in the strongest terms those who forbid to marry, even as contravening the divine truths which flow from the doctrine of the Incarnation,[1] and as led astray by seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, and declares his will that younger women should marry

[9] "Meliores conjugati humiles quam superbientes Virgines." See his two treatises "De Bono Conjugali" and "De Sanctâ Virginitate," tom. vi. 540—618. And he says, "Hæc est regula nuptiarum, quâ vel naturæ decoratur fecunditas, vel regitur pravitas." More will be said on this subject in chapter xiv. on these treatises of Augustine.

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, which is logically connected with what precedes at the close of the preceding chapter, concerning the Incarnation.

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and bear children (1 Tim. v. 14), and that every man should have his own wife, and every woman her own husband (1 Cor. vii. 2), and that Marriage is honourable in all (Heb. xiii. 4), and "a great Mystery," being a figure of Christ's union with His Church (Eph. v. 23—33).

The teaching of Holy Scripture in this matter was followed by the primitive Church. S. Ignatius, the scholar of St. John, said,[2] "Do not impose on any one the yoke of celibacy; it is a perilous thing, and hard to be kept. Exhort young men to marry."

No one was allowed to dedicate herself to God's service by taking the Vow of widowhood under sixty years of age, according to St. Paul's precept,[3] and this rule was applied to Deaconesses by Theodosius.[4]

In the third century, young Women dedicated themselves to the service of God, but this was rather by a purpose of Virginity than by a distinct pledge and life-long vow,[5] and they were permitted to marry if they desired it.

When in the fourth century a change was introduced in this matter, and Virgins were allowed and even encouraged to dedicate themselves by a Vow of Virginity to the service of God, their admission was fenced by many restrictions and safeguards. By the canons of some churches (even after the days of

[2] S. Ignat. frag. vi.

[3] 1 Tim. v. 9. Tertullian de Virginibus Velandis, cap. 9.

[4] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 2. 27. Cp. Sozomen, vii. 16; and cp. S. Basil, Canon. ad Amphiloch. Ep. 2, and S. Ambrose de Viduis, cap. 2.

[5] See S. Cyprian, Epist. ad Pompon. p. 8, ed. Fell, Amst. 1691; and the notes of Rigalt and Bp. Fell on the passage; and compare Bingham, Eccl. Ant. book vii. chap. iv. 2.

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S. Ambrose) a Virgin could not be admitted before the age of forty.[6] She could not be admitted by a Priest;[7] the approval of the Bishop of the Diocese was requisite.[8] The Bishop, not the Abbess, was to have the oversight of them.[9] The Bishop was obliged to proceed in the matter with great caution and deliberation. He must examine into her character and qualifications with scrupulous attention.[1] He must inquire whether she would be under the safe custody of her mother, and the superintendence of grave companions. If such conditions as these were not satisfied, she was not to be received.

When she had been dedicated as a Virgin, she then became a spouse of Christ,[2] and had renounced the world; her life was to be one of holy exercises, of rigid asceticism, and private seclusion. Her chamber was to be an oratory;[3] she was to pass her days there in fasting and prayer, in singing psalms and hymns, in reading Holy Scripture, and in prescribed works of female industry; she was not permitted to leave[4] the house; "prodire domo nescia," says

[6] Council of Saragossa, A.D. 418, Can. 8. This was passed unanimously, and so the Council of Agde, A.D. 506, Can. 19.

[7] Council of Rouen, Can. 9.

[8] Concil. Carthag. iii. Can. 36.

[9] Fifth Council of Arles, Can. 5, "The Bishop is to have the oversight of the Monasteries of the Virgins; and the Abbess must do nothing contrary to the rules."

[1] S. Ambrose de Virginitate, cap. 7.

[2] "Immortali nupsisti Viro," says S. Ambrose, de Lapsu Virginis, c. 5.

[3] S. Jerome, Epist. 98, ad Gaudentium, "*In cubiculo* suo totas delicias habeat; discat memoriter psalterium; libros Salomonis, Evangelia, Apostolos et Prophetas sui cordis thesaurum faciat."

S. Ambrose de Virginibus, iii. 15, and de Inst. Virg. cap. 16. Exhortat. cap. 9, "Quære Christum in *cubiculo* tuo," &c.

[4] De Virgin. ii. 2.

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S. Ambrose,[5] unless to go to church; she was forbidden to converse with men, even with holy men;[6] and with women, except her nearest relations.[7] If the Virgin had no parents, and could not dwell at home, she was consigned to the care of some grave matrons in a monastery, which she was never to leave,[8] except for special reasons. No one had free access to her there[9] but the Bishop[1] and the Priest who came to celebrate the offices of the Church.

Such was the condition of the Virgins of the Church in the latter part of the fourth century, and in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In addition to these cautionary measures, by which the Virgins of the Church were protected against opportunities of intercourse with men, and against temptation to break their vow of celibacy, any violation of that vow was denounced by the doctors[2] of the Church in stern language, and was visited by the canons[3] of the Church with severe penalties. Thus the Church in authoritative frankness and plainness of speech set the matter clearly before the eyes of

[5] De Inst. Virg. cap. 1, and Exhort. Virg. cap. 10. "Nullus sit tuus sine matre processus; ipsa quoque ad Ecclesiam processio rarior sit adolescentulis." S. Basil de Virg. cap. 19.

[6] S. Basil de Virgin. cap. 37.

[7] S. Ambrose, Exhort. Virg. cap. 10.

[8] See S. Basil, Epitimia Canonicarum, ii. 530. Concil. Trullan. Can. 41.

[9] Concil. Carthag. i. 3.

[1] S. Ambrose de Lapsu Virginis, cap. 7. Council of Epaon, Can. 38. Council of Rouen, Can. 10.

[2] S. Basil de Virgin. caps. 39, 40, 42. S. Ambrose de Lapsu Virg. c. 5. S. Epiphanius, Hæres. c. 61. S. Augustine de Bono Viduit. cap. 9.

[3] Concil. Ancyran. Can. 19. Concil. Turon. i. 6. Concil. Venet. Can. 4. Concil. Valent. i. 2. Concil. Matiscon, i. Can. 12. Thomassinus, Eccl. Disc. tom. iv. p. 63.

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fervid postulants, and doubtless deterred many from taking a vow of celibacy.

If this system had been based on sound foundations of human nature and Holy Scripture, it must be confessed to have been a wise one, and had the merit of logical consistency. It exhorted Virgins not to take a vow of celibacy, unless they felt that they had the gift to keep it.[4] It withdrew the Virgins of the Church from temptation, it supplied them with means of grace to resist it, and it deterred them from yielding to temptation by legislative enactments and solemn anathemas.

But although the system was thus fenced in on all sides, it does not seem to have been successful. It seems to have often fostered spiritual pride.[5] The lamentation of Fathers of the Church on cases of failure,[6] their exhortations,[7] even to professed Virgins, to marry rather than to live the lives which some of them were known to do, and the frequent iterations of canonical censures on the breaches of the vow of celibacy, seem to prove that the administering of vows of celibacy to women on other terms than those which had been enunciated by St. Paul (1 Tim. v. 9—12), and had been accepted by the Primitive

[4] S. Augustine de Bono Viduit. cap. 8, "*Si non continent*, nubant, antequam continentiam profiteantur."

[5] S. Augustine de Sanctâ Virginitate, caps. 34, 44, 45. The Council of Gangra, A.D. 362, gives salutary cautions against this temper of mind (Canons 1, 4, 9), and against the tendency to Manichæanism which disparaged Marriage. The wise language of the Bishops assembled in this Council deserves careful consideration.

[6] See for example S. Ambrose de Lapsu Virginis, p. 323. S. Jerome, Epist. xciii. ad Sabinianum Lapsum, p. 754.

[7] Even of Jerome ad Demetriad. Ep. xcviii., "Sanctum Virginum propositum quarundam non benè agentium nomen infamat. Quibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possunt continere, aut contineant si nolunt nubere." See also S. Epiphan. Hæres. 61.

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Church, was often dangerous in its tendency, and disastrous in its results.

There were some other women in the fourth century who were dedicated by Vows of Virginity, and did not live lives of seclusion, as the Virgins, properly so called, did. These were Deaconesses. They were consecrated by a solemn service to their work, and were very useful as ministers in the Christian Church, especially in the instruction of women, and in preparing them for Baptism and Confirmation, and in teaching of children, and in succouring the sick and needy.[8] And they did not live in communities or sisterhoods. They represented an attempt to reconcile freedom of life with vows of celibacy; but the experiment failed. After trial the office of Deaconess, *so constituted*, was suppressed, and canons were passed against its continuance, in the fifth and sixth centuries, in the Western Church.[9]

Before quitting this subject, we ought not to forget the institution founded by S. Vincent de Paul in the early part of the seventeenth century (A.D. 1633); the "Sisters of Charity," lately numbering 18,000 members, of whom 14,000 were natives of France.

These Sisters enjoy much liberty. In the words of their saintly founder, "Their only monastery is the house of the sick, their chapel is the parish church, their cloister is the street of the city, or the ward of the hospital, their seclusion is obedience, their *grille* is

[8] See the authorities in Bingham, Antiquities of the Church, book ii. chap. xxii. 1—13.

[9] First Council of Orange, Can. 18, A.D. 441, and Council of Epaon, Can. 21. Second Council of Orleans, Can. 18, A.D. 533. It failed through human frailty not able to bear it, "pro conditionis humanæ fragilitate." Cp. Thomassinus, Discip. Eccl. x. p. 78.

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the fear of God, their veil is holy modesty and meekness."[1]

By limiting the term "Vow of Chastity" to monasticism, the Church of Rome seems to imply that chastity cannot be practised in married life; and she says that God gives this gift of chastity, so restricted, to all who ask for it;[2] and she pronounces an anathema on all who say that it is not better and happier to continue in virginity or celibacy than to contract matrimony.[3]

These affirmations prove the importance of studying this question historically, and the necessity of investigating the first beginnings of doctrines, which have led to such results, and have exercised so much influence on the Church.

4. *On Prayers for the dead—Reverence for the relics of Martyrs.*

Vigilantius, born in Gaul, a priest of Barcelona in Spain, is called by Jerome the successor of Jovinian, whose spirit, by a process of metempsychosis, had, he says, passed into him.[4]

He revived Jovinian's denial of the superior merit of celibacy, and referred to some Bishops who would not ordain to the Diaconate any one who was unmarried.

He maintained that the dead could not be benefited by the prayers of the living; and in support of this

[1] A good account of their constitution is given by M. Collet in his interesting life of S. Vincent de Paul, published in Paris, 1818 (p. 42). The Sisters take no Vow till after five years' probation; and this Vow, which is only for a year, is renewable annually on March 25.

[2] Concil. Trident. Sess. xxiv. Can. 9, and Sess. xxv. cap. 1.

[3] Ibid. Can. 10.

[4] Jerome adver. Vigil. p. 281.

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opinion he quoted the words in 2 Esdras vii. 41—45, as implying that there is no help from survivors for those who are beyond the grave.

He spoke also in contemptuous terms of those who paid reverence to the relics of the Martyrs, and lighted tapers at their tombs, and carried about their relics in costly silks ; and he called them worshippers of ashes (cinerarios) and idolaters.

Vigilantius had been a friend of Sulpicius Severus, the Church Historian and Biographer of S. Martin, the monastic Bishop of Tours ; he had been associated with the friend of Jerome and Augustine, the eloquent and saintly Paullinus, who had renounced the wealth and honours of the world, notwithstanding the remonstrance of his literary friend, the Poet Ausonius, and had also been ordained (as Vigilantius was) to the Priesthood at Barcelona, and retired with his wife Therasia to Nola in Campania, where he was Bishop. Paullinus was a votary of the Martyr S. Felix at that place where his relics were preserved, which were supposed to be endued with miraculous powers ; and for ten years in succession he wrote poems in his honour on his anniversary, Jan. 14.[5]

It seems not improbable that Vigilantius was driven to the opinions which he broached by an excess of reaction against the rigorous asceticism and devotional enthusiasm which he saw at Nola in Paullinus and other similar examples.

S. Jerome replied to Vigilantius in a letter from Bethlehem, written in A.D. 406, thirteen years after his two books against Jovinian, and twenty-two years after his letter to Eustochium. So far as the celibacy of the Clergy and the superior merits of Vir-

[5] Cp. Fleury, Hist. Eccl. xix. 57.

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ginity were concerned, his writings had not received universal approval.

Indeed in this work against Jovinian he admits that many Priests were living in the state of Matrimony.[6] And he remarks that[7] St. Paul describes a Bishop as the husband of one wife, having his children in subjection (1 Tim. iii. 4).

With regard to prayers for the *faithful departed* generally, especially by commemorating them at the Holy Communion, it has already been observed that such supplications have a place in ancient Liturgies.[8]

Such prayers, as has also been said,[9] are natural expressions of some of the best and tenderest feelings of human nature and of Christian charity.

Prayers like these had special reference to some persons, particularly to departed saints, Bishops and Priests, and benefactors of a Church, who were believed by those who prayed for them to have fallen asleep in faith, and whose names were recorded in its diptychs. This is evident from writings of Fathers in the fourth and fifth centuries;[1]

[6] Adv. Jovinian. p. 165, "Plurimi sacerdotes habent matrimonia."

[7] There is an important passage in this work as to St. Peter's primacy (p. 168): "Dicis super *Petrum* fundatur Ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super *omnes* Apostolos fiat, et *cuncti* claves cœlorum accipiant, et *ex æquo* super *omnes* Ecclesia solidetur, tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur ut capite constituto schismatis tollatur occasio." In p. 227 he speaks of the teaching of Peter being grounded on "Christ the Rock of the Church." Yet Jerome is often appealed to as an advocate of Papal Supremacy.

[8] See above, vol. ii. pp. 279, 287.

[9] Above, pp. 109, 110.

[1] See the evidence in Bingham, book x. chap. iii. sect. 15—17; book xxiii. chap. iii.; Bishop Forbes, Consid. Modest. i. De Purgat. ch. 3; Thorndike, Laws of the Church, book iii. ch. xxix; Dean Field on the Church, book iii. ch. 17; Bp. Bull, Sermons, Serm. iii. p. 70; Chemnit. Examen Concil. Tridentin. pp. 535—543, ed. 1634; Note to

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and the Aerians, who denied the use of such prayers, were reckoned by them to be heretical.[2]

The grounds of such Prayers for the faithful departed, as stated by those writers, were many. First, these prayers were natural outpourings of Christian love and desire for their peace in Paradise, and for the speedy consummation of their bliss in heaven, by the resurrection of their bodies.

Secondly, these prayers were evidences of the faith of the Church, that the souls of the departed were alive, and that their bodies would rise again from the grave.

Thirdly, they were a sign of belief, that the bliss of the faithful is not yet complete, and would not be perfected and consummated till the Great Day.

Fourthly, they were a proof of belief in the Communion of Saints.

Fifthly, they were an utterance and acknowledgment of an humble persuasion that the future bliss of the greatest saints, such as the Apostles and the blessed Virgin Mary, whom they believed to be in peace, and *for* whom they prayed, but *to* whom they did *not* pray, was not due to any deserts of their own, but solely and simply to the free mercy of God, and infinite merits of Christ; and therefore was to be prayed for by the Church; and thus these prayers were a practical protest against certain heresies and corruptions, such as Pelagianism; and such as the dogma of Purgatory, first made an article of faith by the Church of Rome in the fifteenth century.[3]

Fleury, Hist. Eccl. xix. 41, Oxford, p. 224; Archbishop Ussher "Answer to a Jesuit," vol. iii. 198. [2] Epiphan. Hæret. 75. 7.

[3] Such prayers as these may be seen in the Roman Catacombs, "Optatus in pace requiescat," and "Regina, vivas in Domino." See

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Such prayers as these ministered comfort to devout and loving hearts, and helped to cherish the faith of Christians in wholesome doctrines; and such considerations as these will, doubtless, have due weight with the thoughtful student of Church History.

But he will not place implicit reliance on human names, however venerable; he will consider that they are a test and trial of the faithfulness of his loyalty and the singleness of his allegiance to God. Nor will he confine himself to two or three centuries, such as the fourth and fifth, of the Church; but will consider carefully what light is thrown upon them for his guidance under God's Providence by the previous teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age, and by the succeeding experience of the centuries that followed them, even to his own time.

If it be said, as it was said by some in the fourth century, that prayers for the dead are to be limited to the *faithful* departed, it may be asked, What authority is to decide *who* are the *faithful* departed? Sometimes the name of a Chrysostom, having been placed on the diptychs, was erased, and after some years was restored. And cases may arise where prayers may be offered for men as faithful to Him Who knows that they do not deserve that name; and they who offer such prayers may be liable to the charge of invading the judicial prerogatives of God.

Besides, there was not a consensus of teaching on this subject in the fourth century. Most of the Fathers sanctioned prayers for the Martyrs; S. Augus-

Aringhi, Roma Sotterranea, pp. 405, 487; Dean Burgon's Letters from Rome, pp. 185, 217, 219, 220, 221, 238, 240; and Canon Luckock, After Death, ch. vii.

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tine[4] disapproves of this. Most of the Fathers limit such prayers to the faithful; Epiphanius extends them to the wicked.[5]

Some of those Fathers also, who are cited in favour of Prayers for the dead, do not seem to have laid any stress on the efficacy of those Prayers in practice. S. Cyprian, in his very interesting and comforting treatise on Mortality,[6] never recommends prayers for the dead. S. Jerome himself, in his consolatory addresses[7] to Christian mourners, does not exhort them to pray for their departed friends, though he expresses a hope that those friends pray for the survivors. S. Augustine does not inculcate the practice in his sermons. Jerome's master, Gregory Nazianzen, delivered many funeral orations; for example, on his brother Cæsarius, his sister Gorgonia; on his father, the Bishop of Nazianzus, in the presence of his widow Nonna; on S. Athanasius and on S. Basil; but though he does not doubt that they who have gone before are mindful of those whom they have left behind, he does not encourage the mourners to help those whom they dearly loved by their prayers. S. Ambrose, it is true, invokes Valentinian the younger, whose dead body was lying before him, and assures him that he will ever remember him in his prayers.[8]

Vigilantius argued *against* prayers for the dead, from 2 Esdras vii. 41 (see above, p. 143), which Jerome rejected as an *apocryphal* book.[9] And it is

[4] Serm. 159. 17, de Verb. Apostoli; Tract. 84 in Joann.

[5] Epiphan. Hæret. 75, n. 7. [6] Above, vol. i. pp. 335—340.

[7] S. Jerome de Obitu Fabiolæ; de Obitu Blesillæ; de Obitu Paulæ; and his other similar writings.

[8] S. Ambrose de Obitu Valentiniani, c. 79.

[9] Jerome adv. Vigilant. p. 283, "Proponis mihi librum apocryphum qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tui legitur, quod post mortem

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worthy of notice, that the only clear biblical testimony *in favour* of prayers for the dead is from an Apocryphal Book (2 Macc. xii. 43—45), and there the prayer is limited to those who "died godly."[1] The *absence* of such testimony from *canonical Scripture* is emphasized by the ambiguity of the only text from either Testament which is quoted for it (2 Tim. i. 16—18): "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day."

From this passage, and from the Apostle's words at the close of the same Epistle, "Salute the household of Onesiphorus,"[2] it has been inferred by some that Onesiphorus himself was dead when St. Paul wrote. It may be so; but even if this be granted, these words do not amount to a direct petition for him, but to a *pious wish* that the body of a good man who had fallen asleep in Jesus might be raised to heavenly glory, and that he might receive perfect fruition of bliss, both in body and soul, at the Great Day.

In this sense Holy Scripture authorizes and com-

nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari, quem ego librum nunquam legi. Quid enim necesse est in manus sumere quod Ecclesia non recipit?"

[1] The question deserves careful consideration, whether a large part of the Western Church was not biassed in favour of prayers for the dead by a mistaken notion that the Books of Maccabees were Canonical Scripture. See Concil. Hippon. A.D. 393, Can. 38; Concil. Carth. A.D. 397, Can. 47; Augustine de Doct. Christ. ii. 13. Jerome, who was the first Latin father who showed clearly that these books had no claim to be called canonical, did not in practice encourage prayers for the dead; but Augustine refers to that passage of 2 Maccabees in support of them, De Cura pro Mortuis, i. 23.

[2] 2 Tim. iv. 19.

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mands the faithful to pray for the dead. In this sense Christ sanctions and provides such prayers, when He teaches us to say, in the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come." St. John, in the Apocalypse, saw the disembodied souls of the Martyrs, and he heard them praying for the coming of Christ,[3] in order that their bodies might be raised and joined again to their souls, and that, in body and soul beatified, they might enter into the everlasting and infinite bliss of heaven. In this sense it is a good and holy thing to pray for those who have departed this life in God's true faith and fear. This is what the Church of England encourages her children to do in her Burial Office, when, at the open grave, she beseeches God that it may please Him, of His "gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of His elect, and to hasten His kingdom, that we, with all those who are departed in the true faith of His holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in His eternal and everlasting glory through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Such prayers as these are protests against error—such as the dreary and dangerous dogma of Purgatory, and its fond and delusive abuses, such as Masses for the dead and Indulgences; and are exponents of the consolatory truth that "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,"[4] and that, on their dissolution from the body, they pass immediately into Abraham's bosom,[5] or Paradise,[6] and there enjoy sweet repose and refreshment, and hold sweet converse together with the spirits of holy men from the beginning of the world, and have a delightful foretaste of the more per-

[3] Rev. vi. 9, 10.
[4] Wisdom iii. 1.
[5] Luke xvi. 22.
[6] Luke xxiii. 43.

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fect joy to which they will be admitted at the Coming of Christ and general Resurrection, when their bodies will be raised from their graves, and then they "will be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so be ever with the Lord." [7]

As far as this we are authorized by Scripture to go. And the Church of England, which builds her faith on Scripture, and whose Ministers are pledged to teach nothing as "necessary to salvation which is not read therein or may not be proved thereby," [8] does not go further than this. It has indeed been said, on high authority,[9] that "prayers for the dead" (meaning thereby *particular persons* named in such prayers) "are nowhere expressly forbidden by the Church of England." But with due deference to those who hold this opinion, it may be replied that the *silence* of Holy Scripture as to the use of such prayers, and the *omission*[1] of such prayers, formerly *inserted* in the

[7] 1 Thess. iv. 17.

[8] Art. VI.

[9] On the 12th December, 1838, the Dean of the Court of Arches, Sir Herbert Jenner, decided that the following inscription on a tombstone, "Pray for the soul of Joseph Woolfrey; it is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead" (2 Macc. xii. 45), was not repugnant to anything in the Articles and Canons of the Church of England, nor at variance with her doctrine and discipline (Phillimore, Burn, p. 888, ed. 1873), and that there is no necessary connexion between the Roman Doctrine of Purgatory (on which see Art. XXII.) and the practice of praying for the dead.

This is the most recent judgment of any Court of the Church of England on this subject.

[1] The English Book of Common Prayer of 1549 (King Edward the Sixth's First Book), in the "Office for the Burial of the Dead," contained prayers, that "the *departed* might be found acceptable in God's sight at the Day of Judgment," and might "fully receive His promises;" and that "the sins he had committed might not be imputed to him;" and that "he might escape the gates of hell, and ever dwell in the region of light;" and might "rise again with the just and righteous, and be set at the right hand of Jesus Christ, among the holy and elect." But even

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Liturgy of the Church of England, seem tantamount to *prohibitions* of them to those who believe in the *sufficiency of Scripture*, and are dutiful members of the Church.

The *negative* argument, on which our best divines have dwelt so strongly, has often a *positive* force. Thus Richard Hooker well says,[2]—"The purpose of God was to teach His people unto *whom* they should offer sacrifice, and *what* sacrifice they should offer. To burn their sons in fire to Baal He *did not command them, therefore* this *ought not to be done.* Which argument the Prophet Jeremy useth more than once;[3] the prophet chargeth them rather with the fault of making a law unto themselves, than with the crime of transgressing a law which God hath made. For when the Lord hath set down a form of doing that wherein we are to serve Him, the fault appeareth greater in *doing* what we are *not* commanded, than *not* to do what we *are* commanded: in the latter case we seem to charge the law of God with hardness only, in the former with foolishness; in the former we show ourselves weak, and unapt to do His will, in the latter we take on ourselves to be controllers of His wisdom,

such prayers as these (which do not savour at all of the doctrine of Purgatory) were afterwards *omitted*, and do not appear in any subsequent edition of the Book of Common Prayer. Even the words "that we *with this our brother*," which were in the *second* Prayer Book of Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth, and King James I., and King Charles I., were *omitted* at the *last* review of the Prayer Book in the most learned age of the English Church. This *omission* seems to show that the Church of England is fearful of encouraging her children to rely on the prayers of surviving friends, instead of on repentance, faith, and obedience, through the merits of Christ, during life. The language of our Homilies in the third part of the Sermon on Prayer is strong against such Prayers.

[2] Hooker, Eccl. Pol. II. vi. 2.

[3] Jer. vii. 31. May I be allowed to refer to my note on that passage?

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and we presume to see what is right better than God Himself."

These wise words may be applied to Prayers for the dead.

If prayer for particular persons who are departed is a good thing,—if it is a duty to pray for them,—then such prayers would have had a place among God's precepts in Holy Scripture. Scripture is very full and emphatic as to the indispensable duty of Prayer. And Scripture carefully enumerates those for whom we ought to pray,[4] and gives many examples for our imitation in prayer. The *omission* of any prayer for departed friends seems to be tantamount to prohibition. In such cases what God does not command He forbids.

There is no clear Scriptural warrant, either by precept or example, to pray for particular persons by name after their death, in order that the sins committed by them in this life may be pardoned, or that their condition after death may be altered. But Holy Scripture declares that this present life is man's appointed time of probation, and that there is no place for repentance in the grave; that the souls of evil men, like Dives and Judas, go immediately at death to "their own place"[5] of misery; and that the souls of the penitent and faithful go at once to Paradise and Abraham's bosom; and that there is "a great gulf fixed" between these two states, and that "none can pass from the one to the other."[6] And we know by the experience of many centuries after the fourth, that the neglect of this doctrine, and the corruption of it, have led to great evils both in faith and practice, hurtful to holy living and hindrances to holy dying; and the Church of England, having had bitter ex-

[4] See, for example, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. [5] Acts i. 25. Luke xvi. 22.
[6] Luke xvi. 26.

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perience of these evils, and being animated by humble reverence even for the silence of Holy Scripture, and knowing that there is eloquence and inspiration in that silence, and that, as a holy Father[7] says, "he that hath God's Word can *hear* God's *silence*;" and being mindful of the Apostolic warnings to "speak as the oracles of God,"[8] and "not to add to them,"[9] and "not to intrude into the hidden things of God,"[1] does indeed commemorate all the faithful departed, and thanks God for the graces He has bestowed upon them; and she teaches us to pray to Him for grace to follow their good examples, that we, together with them, may be partakers of His heavenly kingdom; and she teaches us also to pray that their bliss may shortly be perfected by Christ's Coming, and by the Resurrection of their bodies,[2] and that our union with them may be hastened; but she has not thought fit[3] to

[7] S. Ignat., ad Ephes., c. 15.
[8] 1 Pet. iv. 11.
[9] 1 Cor. iv. 6. Rev. xxii. 18.
[1] Col. ii. 18.
[2] See the Collect in her Burial Service.
[3] Isaac Casaubon, associated with Bishop Andrewes, in the letter referred to above (p. 108) written by him in the name of King James I. to Cardinal Perron, speaks in similar terms. In that letter it is freely acknowledged that special prayers for the faithful departed were common in the early Church, and were due to Christian faith and Christian charity, and that while it would be presumptuous to condemn a practice of the ancient Church, yet inasmuch as it does not rest on any clear evidence of Holy Writ, nor can be proved to have been in use at the beginning, and in Apostolic times, and since Christendom has had bitter experience of the evils which have followed it, the Church of England is justified in not retaining it in her public formularies. (Casaubon, Epistolæ, p. 501.) Like words are uttered by our best divines, e.g. Bishop Jeremy Taylor in the Epistle Dedicatory of his "Holy Dying," near the end. Similar opinions are expressed by Archbishop Wake and Bishop Gibson. In the Preservative against Popery, edited by the latter, there is a very elaborate treatise written by the former on this subject (vol. ii. tit. viii. chap. vii. pp. 147—157), where, after a candid avowal that praying for the dead was a practice of the

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insert prayers for any persons *by name* in her Communion Office or other parts of her Liturgy, but, on the contrary, she has *expunged* such prayers from her offices (above, p. 150), and her dutiful children will deem themselves bound to be guided in this matter by her to whom they owe filial obedience, and who has more than motherly power.[4]

5. *On reverence for Martyrs—for their relics—miracles supposed to be wrought at their tombs.*

The attempts made by the Enemy of the Church to destroy her by the violence of Persecution had failed, and when his second endeavour to corrupt her by Heresy had been overthrown by the defeat of Arianism in the first half of the fourth century, he next proceeded to practise on her affections by subtle arts, and to draw her from her allegiance to her Divine Lord by devotion to the Saints and Martyrs who had suffered nobly and gloriously for His sake.

The bodies of the Martyrs were members of Christ

ancient Church, and after a statement of the evidence in support of this assertion, and of the grounds of the usage, it is said that the Church of England having duly considered that the practice has no certain warrant in Holy Scripture, and that it has led to manifold errors and corruptions in the Church of Rome, has deemed it the wisest course to abstain from it in her public services. Cp. Palmer's Origines Liturg. ch. iv. § 10.

[4] The Church of England does not, however, scruple (so to speak) to place the names of some in her diptychs, and to commemorate them in religious offices where the Holy Communion is celebrated, and to teach her people to praise God for their good examples, and to pray to Him for grace to imitate them, in the hope of eternal union with them hereafter. This she does in the "Commemoration of Benefactors" which has been put forth by authority* for use in her ancient Universities, Colleges, and Schools.

* In the Book of Offices published in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

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(1 Cor. vi. 15), and temples of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. iii. 16), and, by virtue of the Communion of Saints, the Martyrs were united with the faithful throughout the world. What wonder if God, Who had wrought so great things by them when alive, and for Whom they rejoiced to die, should reward their love by continuing to work by them for the Church of Christ?[5] The loyalty of the Church to Christ was thus severely tried. And it seemed as if Almighty God Himself, by allowing some miracles to be wrought in the presence of the mortal remains of ancient Martyrs, designed to put her faithfulness to the test, especially in critical times, when the faith of the Church in the Godhead of Christ was tried by heresy supported by imperial power. We have seen evidence of this[6]—hardly to be gainsaid—in the struggle of Ambrose at Milan against Arianism patronized by Valentinian II. and Justina, and in effects then wrought for the Truth by the discovery of the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius.

S. Augustine, in one of his earlier works,[7] had said that "Miracles were not allowed to continue to his own time, lest the mind should always look for visible evidence of truth, and lest Mankind, which at first had been kindled into devotion by the novelty of miracles, should be chilled into indifference by their frequency."

But he revised this statement in his Retractations;[8]

[5] Such arguments as these are put forth with much ingenuity in Dr. (now Cardinal) Newman's note in the Oxford edition of Fleury, p. 298, on the reverence for Reliques, and on miracles wrought through them; he says "that virtue was believed to proceed from the holy bodies, in accordance with Luke viii. 44; Acts xix. 12."

[6] Above, pp. 41—43.

[7] De Vera Religione, cap. 25.

[8] Retractat. cap. 13.

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and said, "Though it be true that at the present time men do not speak with tongues when they receive the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, as they did in the Apostolic times; and though the sick are not healed by the shadow of Christian preachers passing by, as they were in the days of the Apostles (Acts v. 15); yet the assertion is not to be so accepted as if we were to believe that no miracles are now wrought in the name of Christ."

In illustration of this assertion he proceeds to refer to the miracles just mentioned, which he had himself seen wrought at Milan at the discovery of the bodies of the two Martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius.

Augustine also asserts that miracles were wrought in his own Episcopal city, Hippo, so late as A.D. 425, in the presence of the relics of the first Martyr, St. Stephen.[9]

Passages are often quoted from S. Chrysostom as if he had thought that miracles had entirely ceased in his age.[1] And yet he says that miracles are wrought sometimes at the tombs of Martyrs.[2]

These statements are, it seems, to be reconciled by the supposition that miracles were not wrought in his age so frequently as in Apostolic times, nor in the same manner.[3]

[9] Augustine de Civ. Dei, xxii. 8; and see his Sermons, Serm. 320, 321, and 322. For the history of the discovery of these relics, see Chrysipp. ap. Phot. Cod. 171; Lucian. Epist. ap. Aug. vol. vii. ed. Benedict., Appendix de Miraculis S. Stephani; and Fleury, xxiii. 22.

[1] Chrys. de Sacerdot. iv. δυνάμεως τῶν σημείων οὐδ' ἴχνος ὑπολέλειπται, and in Matt. Hom. 33, τὰ σημεῖα ἔπαυσεν ὁ Θεός.

[2] E.g. in his oration on S. Babylas, tom. ii. p. 555, ed. Bened., and tom. xiii. p. 181.

[3] This is the opinion of the learned Isaac Casaubon, who says (Exerc. Baron. p. 672), "Non planè desierunt miracula, semper enim facta sunt,

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They were not necessary for the confirmation of the faith, when and where the knowledge of it was generally diffused, as Chrysostom himself testifies.[4] At the same time, since miracles in favour of the truth are a sign to *unbelievers*,[5] it would be presumptuous to say that they may not be performed, in certain extraordinary cases, for the conversion of the heathen.[6] In *Christian* countries they are not to be looked for now, except from false teachers,[7] and for a trial of the faith of those who have access to the Holy Scriptures.

S. Jerome repudiated with indignation the charge that Christians ever worshipped the ancient Martyrs. "Who," he exclaimed, "ever adored them? who

sed fieri *ita ut ab initio et tam communiter*, desierunt." So Hooker, V. lxvi. 3. Cp. Canon Robertson, Church History, ii. 76—79, on the miracles of the post-Apostolic age.

[4] Chrysost. in Ps. 143, and so Eucherius in Matt. xviii., who says, "We who believe the Scriptures, and who now read in the Gospel the narrative of the miracles wrought in the first ages, do not require miracles;" and so Pope Gregory the Great, in his excellent remarks in Hom. 29 in Marc. xvi.: "When the tree of the Gospel was first planted, and was still young and tender, it needed to be watered by miracles; but now that the tree which God planted, and watered with miracles, has taken root, it does not need to be watered any more. But miracles of grace are wrought daily in the Church by the Holy Ghost in the hearts of believers." The words of S. Gregory are quoted at length in my note on Mark xvi. 17.

[5] Cp. 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

[6] And this is allowed by one of our most sober-minded divines, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Serm. xx. p. 293, folio, ed. Lond. 1683.

[7] Such as our Lord foretells will arise in the latter days, working "great signs and wonders, so as to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect," and to draw them from the faith (Matt. xxiv. 24). And so the Apostle St. Paul (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10, 11). If those who say that miracles are now worked at such places as Lourdes or La Salette are trying to tempt any to adore the Blessed Virgin with Christ, or in His place, it surely cannot be necessary to deny that miracles may be wrought in those places; rather, if we believe the prophecies of Christ and St. Paul, we should expect some miracles to be performed there.

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imagined man to be God?"[8] And he appealed to the act of Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, rejecting such honour with vehemence. "Christians," he says, "do not light candles at noonday; and if any does it in honour of the Martyrs, charitable allowance is to be made for those, whether men or religious women, who do it in the harmless simplicity of devout but inconsiderate zeal; especially as in the churches of the East candles are lighted in the daytime as an expression of holy joy when the Gospel is read."[9]

But Jerome maintains that the remains of the Martyrs are to be honoured, and that the Church of Rome rightly regards their tombs as altars, and offers to the Lord the holy sacrifice upon them. "We do not worship them. We do not adore the relics of Martyrs; we do not worship Angels or Archangels; but we honour the relics of Martyrs, in order that we may adore Him Whose Martyrs they are.[1] We honour the servants, in order that honour may redound to the Lord Whom they served." Such language as this, however, did not restrain the abuse to which such feelings were perverted. The reverence for relics had already degenerated into superstition. The Emperor Theodosius endeavoured to correct it by a law made A.D. 386, forbidding the remains of Martyrs to be disinterred and removed, or to be exposed for sale;[2] and Augustine complained of vagabond and mendicant monks who palmed off pretended relics of martyrs for sale to credulous votaries.[3]

[8] Adv. Vigilantium, p. 282.

[9] Ibid. p. 284.

[1] Epist. 37, ad Riparium.

[2] Cod. Theodos. ix. 17. 7, de Sepulcris: "Humatum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat; nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur."

[3] S. August. de Opere Monachorum, c. 28. "Alii Monachi membra

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The experience of subsequent ages has shown that the warnings and protests of Vigilantius, however marred, as they were, by irreverence, were not unnecessary. The evidence of the consequences which he foresaw is too copious and notorious to be repeated; but let me here place on record that in the present age, which vaunts its enlightenment, one of the most celebrated cities of France, the City of Amiens, on Oct. 12, 1853, welcomed the relics of a supposed saint and martyr of that place, called Theudosia, which had been dug up in the catacombs at Rome, and which were authenticated as relics of a martyr by Papal authority claiming infallibility; and that they were received as genuine, with pomp of music, banners, processions, illuminations, and triumphal arches, by a large concourse of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, twenty-eight in number, and were carried in a magnificent car to the Cathedral Church of that City, and sermons were preached in honour of this imaginary Saint and Martyr of Amiens, and a Chapel was erected to her glory, and she there received the homage of the Imperial Majesty of France on Oct. 12, 1854.

I have shown elsewhere[4] that there is no evidence whatever that this Theudosia was a native of Amiens, or was a Saint or Martyr, or even a Christian; and that the imposing superstructure of veneration and worship which has been erected to her honour in the middle of the nineteenth century in one of the noblest cities of Christendom, is grounded on a mistranslation of an old Latin Inscription.

martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant, venalem circumferentes hypocrisim," c. 31.

[4] Miscellanies, Lond. 1879, vol. i. pp. 129—138.

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Superstition engenders Infidelity. When a Nation sees Christianity allied with such frauds and impostures as these, it is tempted to imagine that Christianity itself is a fraud and an imposture; and so it has come to pass, that such delusions as those of Amiens, Lourdes, and La Salette, encouraged unhappily by some in the Church of France, have now brought France herself into antagonism to the Christian Church, and to her Divine Head.

These questions, therefore, as to miracles and the adoration of relics may justly be regarded as important, and ought to be considered by students of Church History, in connexion with such consequences as those.

With regard to these and similar practices, which spring from reverential feelings, and from tender and generous affections, and which proceed from small beginnings till at length they develope themselves in such fond imaginations as the world has seen, and in forms of doctrine and worship which encroach on the prerogatives of God, the only safeguard is in an appeal to His Written Word.

God did not authorize them. In the burial of the body of the greatest of Hebrew prophets, His chosen servant Moses, by His own Divine hand,[5] and in the inscrutable secrecy of that burial-place, we may recognize a prophetical safeguard provided by God Himself against that superstitious veneration of the mortal remains of His Saints which might be abused into a derogation from His incommunicable honour and worship, and a silent protest against it. And in the attempt of Satan to gain possession of the body of Moses, and in the resistance of the Archangel Michael[6] to that attempt, we may see on the one side

[5] See on Deut. xxxiv. 6.

[6] See on Jude 9.

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a specimen and a prelude of those devices of the Enemy which perverted the relics of holy men into instruments of creature-worship, in disparagement of the Creator; and on the other, an example of that holy zeal which burns in the breasts of Angels and of good men for the divine glory, and of a valorous resolve to defend it against the least indignity.

The Primitive Church of Christ was exemplary in this respect. She showed her reverence for the mortal remains of a Polycarp, after his martyrdom by fire at Smyrna, in preserving them carefully and reverently, and by burying them in a holy place; but she repudiated all the allegations of her enemies that she would worship the Martyr himself. "No," said the faithful of Smyrna, "we can never forsake Christ; Him alone we adore; but we love the Martyrs as followers of their King, Teacher, and Lord, and we pray that we ourselves may be with them in His glory hereafter.[7]

6. *Pictures and images in Churches.*

In a letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem, noticed hereafter,[8] S. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, mentions that in Palestine he went to a Church near Bethel, to be present with the Bishop at the Holy Communion, and that on his way thither he came to a place called Anablatha, and saw a light burning in a building which he found to be a Church,

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 169. Euseb. iv. 15, the history of Polycarp's Martyrdom. S. Antony in the fourth century would not allow his body to be kept, and only two persons knew where he was buried. Athanas. Vit. Anton. ii. p. 502. Bingham, XXIII. iv. 8.

[8] Chap. viii. See Jerome, Ep. 110, p. 828.

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and that on entering it to say his prayers he saw a curtain (velum), dyed and painted, on which was a figure of Christ, or of some saint; and that, as such a representation—a human form—seemed to him to be "contrary to the authority of the Scriptures," he cut it, and told the guardians of the place that they had better use it to wrap the body of a poor man in it, and carry him to burial.

"The people murmured at this, and said, 'If he cuts up our curtain, it is only right that he should send us a new one,' which I promised to do; and now that I am come back to Cyprus, I send you the best I can find."

We have seen[9] that in A.D. 305 the Council of Elvira (Canon 36) had decreed that what is adored or worshipped ought not to be represented by painting in a Church, and paintings in Churches were forbidden. Probably they feared that Christians might be confounded with heathen idolaters, or even lapse into idolatry. Eusebius had reproved Constantia, sister of Constantine, when she asked him for a picture of our Lord;[1] but he mentions in his Church history (vii. 18) that a statue of Christ was erected at Cæsarea Philippi by the woman whose issue of blood was staunched by Him (Matt. ix. 20). This was destroyed by Julian.[2] Augustine[3] says that no authentic likeness of Christ existed in his time, and condemns the worshippers of pictures.[4] He mentions pictures of the sacrifice of Isaac.[5] And in the fourth

[9] Above, vol. i. p. 404.
[1] Conc. Nicæn. ii. Act. 6. Mansi, Concil. xiii. 314.
[2] Sozom. v. 21.
[3] De Trin. viii. 4.
[4] De Moribus Eccl. Cath. c. 34; de Consens. Evang. i. 10.
[5] Contra Faust. xxii. 73.

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century allegorical representations of sacred doctrines, and of historical events recorded in Scripture, and of martyrdoms, were allowed in Churches.[6]

In course of time a miraculous virtue was ascribed to certain pictures and images;[7] and after a long struggle (in which Leo III. Isauricus, A.D. 716—741, and Constantine Copronymus in Concil. Const. A.D. 754, and Leo IV., 755—780, resisted the growing tendency) this veneration,[8] of images was sanctioned in the East at the Second Nicene Council, A.D. 787, but resisted by the Gallican Church at Frankfort, A.D. 794. In the Council of Trent, Session 25, Dec. 3, A.D. 1563, it was decreed that images of Christ, the Virgin Mother of God, and the Saints, are to be retained in churches, and that due honour and veneration are to be paid to them.

In drawing to a close these remarks on the perversions of pious and loving affections, and on religious practices by which the Tempter has attempted to steal the heart of the Church from devotion to her Divine Lord, we must not omit to notice that one of the worst effects of these perversions was, that it led some by an excess of reaction into the opposite extreme of irreverence, which is an unfailing consequence of superstition.

King Hezekiah broke in pieces[9] the brazen serpent which had been made at God's command by Moses,[1] and by means of which God healed those who were bitten by fiery serpents. Hezekiah destroyed the ser-

[6] Greg. Nyssen. de Theodor. Martyr. c. 2. Prudentius, above, vol. i. p. 307. Paullinus, Natal. ix. Felicis M.

[7] See Gieseler, § 99.

[8] προσκύνησις τιμητική. On this subject see Cardinal Newman, note to Fleury, book xix. p. 232.

[9] 2 Kings xviii. 3, 4.

[1] Num. xxi. 8, 9.

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pent (*Nachash*), and called it *Nechushtan*, a mere lump of *brass*, because in his days the people burnt incense to it, and perverted into an occasion of idolatry that by which God had worked as an instrument of mercy. The abuse of the brazen serpent was great and general, and could not be redressed otherwise than by destruction; Hezekiah therefore acted well in destroying it. And idols have been rightly destroyed in Christian lands for similar reasons.[2]

But the Temple at Jerusalem, which had been profaned by idolatry, was not destroyed by Josiah, but was restored to its proper use—the worship of God.

The application of these remarks may be left to the thoughtful reader. They seemed to be necessary, lest, while the history of the fourth century, and of the practices to which we have referred, brings with it salutary warnings, men should be carried away into the opposite extreme, as the Puritans of England and Scotland and other countries were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and lest, while we avoid the abuse, we should forfeit the use of good things which have been abused,[3] instead of vindicating them from abuse, and restoring them to their proper use; and lest in zeal for God's glory, we should forget the veneration due to things and persons which are His, and which He has vouchsafed to honour as His own; and lest we should thus fail in reverence even to God Himself.

[2] See Hooker, V. lxv., and his remarks on the danger of excesses in the direction both of superstition and irreverence.

[3] As, for example, of the sign of the Cross in baptism. See Canon 30 of 1604, and Hooker, V. lxv., on the use of the Surplice, &c., observance of Saints' Days (see Hooker, IV. iii.—viii.; V. xxix. 5; V. lxxi), and Cathedral Churches, ruthlessly destroyed in Scotland.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Controversial works of Jerome on doctrine and discipline—Hortatory Writings—Epistles.

REFERENCE has been already made[1] to the service done by Jerome to the Church in his dialogue against the Luciferians, in which he showed that Divine Grace given at Ordination and in the Holy Sacraments, administered by persons duly called and ordained to the Ministry of the Church, is not invalidated by the unworthiness of the Minister, although he may be guilty of schism, or lapse into heresy; at the same time it is fit and necessary that he himself should be censured for his schism and heresy by the discipline of the Church, and restored, if possible, to unity in the truth by loving correction. And the importance of that Dialogue in reference to later controversies has been noticed.

On account of the vigour of its reasoning, the terseness of its style, and the liveliness of its illustrations, and also from the historical sketch which it gives of the Arian Controversy, and of the sudden collapse and no less sudden recovery of a large part of Christendom from shipwreck of the faith (above, vol. ii. 19), that Dialogue will repay careful attention.

[1] Above, p. 121.

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Its general scope has been described (p. 121), and I will now content myself with a few extracts from it as specimens.

Speaking of the Sacrament of Baptism and of Christ's Baptism in Jordan, Jerome says,[2] "Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who was not cleansed by the Water, but rather Himself cleansed all Water by His own Baptism in it, then received the Holy Ghost, not that He Who was conceived in our flesh by the Holy Spirit was ever without the Spirit, but that He might teach us that the true Baptism is that in which the Holy Spirit is. And there is no Baptism ministered in His Church, which is without the Holy Ghost."

Next referring to the Apostolic rite of Confirmation, and to its general administration in the Christian Church, he asks,[3] "Do you not know that this is the practice of our Churches, to lay hands on those who have been baptized, with prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit to them? You may ask, What Scriptural warrant have we for this practice? In the Acts of the Apostles,[4] I reply." And he testifies the universality of this practice: "Even if we had not Scriptural authority for it, the consent of the whole world would serve to us as a precept for its observance;"[5] and he adds, "When the Bishop lays his hands on any, he lays them on those who have been baptized in the true faith of the Holy Trinity, three Persons, and one God."

Jerome also says that the Sacrament of Baptism, administered by Priests and Deacons, and by Laymen

[2] Adv. Lucifer. p. 293. [3] Ibid. p. 294.

[4] Acts viii. 14—17; xix. 6.

[5] "Consensus totius orbis instar præcepti obtineret." On Confirmation, see above, vol. i. p. 66.

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in cases of necessity, is virtually administered by the authority of the Bishop as a centre of unity. He then describes the falling away of Bishops from the true faith to the Arian heresy, at and after the Council of Ariminum,[6] when "the whole world groaned and was amazed to find itself Arian;"[7] and their subsequent recovery; and the rash rigour of Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, excluding those from their sees who had lapsed into Arianism, and introducing others into their room, and rebaptizing those who had been baptized by Arians. Athanasius and the Council of Alexandria[8] took a gentler and wiser course, and received the penitents back into communion of the Church; and thus, says Jerome, "they rescued the world from the jaws of Satan."[9]

He then proceeds to mention his friend Lucifer. "I am now come," he says, "to a painful dilemma, in which I am constrained to speak of the blessed Lucifer otherwise than his merit and my charity would persuade me to do. But what is to be done? Truth unseals my lips, and my conscience constrains my reluctant tongue to speak. In that peril of the Church, when wolves were raging against her, he separated a few sheep for himself, and left the rest of the flock to the wild beasts. Some say he did this in vainglory and strife, but I cannot believe this of so great a man."

Such words as these do honour to Jerome; especially as Paullinus—who was consecrated to the See of Antioch by Lucifer and others, in opposition to Mele-

[6] See above, chap. vi., and the references there to vol. ii. 19—21; and on the rise of the Luciferian Schism, ii. 169, 170.

[7] P. 301.

[8] See above, vol. ii. pp. 169, 170.

[9] P. 302.

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tius[1] (A.D. 362)—was supported by the Western Church, and Jerome himself received ordination from him.

"A Church is not duly a Church which has not Priests;"[2] and it is necessary to communicate with those who are rightly so called. At the same time, a perfect Church with a blameless Ministry is not to be looked for upon Earth."

S. Jerome's description of the imperfect and mixed condition of the Church of Christ on earth is characterized by wisdom and eloquence. "The Ark of Noah," he says,[3] "is a figure of the Church. As in the Ark there were unclean and clean animals together, so here in the Church the evil are mingled with the good. The raven—the unclean bird—was sent forth from the Ark, and did not return to it. The dove came back with a message of peace. The Ark had its three stories; the Church has its three orders[4]—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The Ark was in jeopardy, tossed on the waves of the Deluge; the Church is in peril, and rides on the billows of this world. After Noah came forth from the Ark, he was mocked by his elder son, and was revered by the younger. The Jew, the elder brother, crucified Christ; the Gentile, the younger, worships Him. Time would fail me" (he adds) "if I were to try to recount all the mysteries (sacramenta) of the Ark, prefiguring the Church. S. Cyprian (he says) erroneously rejected

[1] See above, vol. ii. 170—324; Theodoret, iii. 2; Socrat. iii. 9; Sozomen, v. 12, 13; and Fleury, xv. 29.

[2] P. 302, "Ecclesia non est quæ non habet sacerdotes." Cp. Ignatius, quoted above, vol. i. p. 50, and Irenæus, above, vol. i. 224—230.

[3] P. 302.

[4] I do not quote this as an argument, but only as evidence of Jerome's opinion of the necessity of a threefold ministry.

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baptism by heretics,[5] in contravention of the judgment of Stephen, Bishop of Rome. But Cyprian's opinion was reviewed and corrected, and the African Church returned to the true doctrine, and ceased to rebaptize heretics. How many heresies prevailed in the Apostolic age, and in the next after it; but we do not hear that their adherents, if they repented, were rebaptized by the Church." [6]

"A Church does not cease to be a Church by reason of evil men and evil ministers in it. No Church was perfect even while the Apostles were living. In the Book of Revelation the Angel of the Church of Ephesus is blamed for having left his first love. At Pergamos meats offered to idols were eaten, and some held the doctrine of the Nicolaitans. At Thyatira, Jezebel the false prophetess was allowed to teach. All these were exhorted by Christ to repent, and to flee from the wrath to come; but were not to be baptized again. They were erring Churches, but still they were Churches; they must renounce their error, and profess the truth; and then Christ would receive them to Himself."

Due regard to such teaching as this of S. Jerome would have saved many persons from error,[7] and would have preserved the Church from many divisions which have disturbed her peace and impaired her efficiency.

Jerome sums up the argument thus: "We ought to abide in that Church which was founded by the Apostles, and which remains to this day. We ought not to belong to Societies which call themselves by the names of human founders, and not of Christ. Such

[5] See above, vol. i. pp. 313—315. [6] P. 304.
[7] As is shown by Hooker, iii. chap. i.

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are the Marcionites, Valentinians, and others. Such a society is not a Church of Christ." Jerome even calls it "Antichristi Synagogam." "And let them not flatter themselves by quoting texts from Scripture, and applying it to themselves. Satan quoted Scripture.[8] The *true sense* of Scripture does not consist in the syllables which we read, but in the sense of Him Who wrote it. If we are slaves of the letter, we may make new sects, and say that no one is to be received by us into our Church who is shod with shoes, or wears two coats" (Matt. x. 10).

We have seen[9] that things containing elements of good, but mingled with alloy of evil, have been severe trials to the Church, by reason of the good elements with which the alloy has been mingled. And what is true of *things* is equally true of *persons*, and of none is it more true than of Origen,[1] whose writings exercised so powerful an influence over the personal history of Jerome.

Some account has been already given[2] of his marvellous genius, profound learning, indefatigable industry, strict and severe self-denial, various and valuable labours in Biblical Criticism and Exposition.

The errors imputed to him have also been noticed.[3] Others might have been specified, such as his ascription of a man-like form to God Himself (anthropomorphism); his doctrine of subordination of the Son of God, which tended to Arianism;[4] his belief in the

[8] Against Christ at the Temptation, Matt. iv. 6.

[9] Above, chap. vii.

[1] This has been already observed by Vincentius Lirinensis, whose words are quoted above in vol. i. p. 282.

[2] Above, vol. i. pp. 270—283. [3] Vol. i. pp. 278—280.

[4] "Origenes fons Arii," says Jerome, Epist. 41, p. 343.

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pre-existence of souls; and his theory of earthly life as a discipline of purification of spirits which had sinned in a former state;[5] and the salvability of the Evil One himself,[6] and universal restoration; and his notion that in a future state men would exist in an ethereal, phantom-like, and nebulous figure,[7] but not in the actual body which they had upon earth, either glorified for ever, or in "everlasting shame and contempt" (Dan. xii. 2).

The licentiousness of his allegorical interpretations of Scripture led him to explain away, if not to deny, the reality of the facts recorded in sacred history.[8]

Indeed the fountain and well-spring of all the errors of his teaching was in this; he abandoned the plain, simple meaning of the Sacred Text, and in a confident spirit of presumptuous self-reliance subordinated it to his own inventions. In Jerome's words, "He made his own genius to be like sacraments of the Church."[9] At the same time Jerome allows that when Origen was right, such was the nobleness of his genius and exuberance of his eloquence, that he surpassed all other Expositors of Holy Writ.[1]

Allowance is to be made for one who lived when some of the doctrines on which he erred had not been so fully debated and clearly defined by the Church

[5] See Theophil. Alex. ap. Hieron. p. 696, and Epiphan. ibid. p. 824.

[6] Jerome, Epist. 41, p. 345, "Idipsum fore Gabrielem quod Diabolum, Paulum quod Caiapham;" Epist. 94, p. 962, and Epist. 41.

[7] Jerome, Epist. 41, p. 344. Epiphan. ap. Hieron. p. 825.

[8] Above, vol. i. p. 277.

[9] "Ingenium suum facit Ecclesiæ Sacramenta," Præf. in Esaiam, cap. xiii., and cap. xii. ad fin.

[1] Jerome, Epist. 41, p. 345, "Origenes quum in cæteris libris omnes vicerit, in Cantico Canticorum ipse se vicit."

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as they were after his time ; and many of his writings, especially those from which the most erratic of his notions are derived, exist only in a mutilated condition ; and he revised and amended his teaching in some of his later works.[2] Let us remember also that the Church owed Gregory Thaumaturgus to Origen ; and that Ambrose and many others profited by his labours.

The writings of Origen continued to be a trial to the Church long after his death, and were the cause of bitter strife between Jerome and his friend Rufinus. The account of that strife belongs rather to their personal biography than to the history of the Church. It will suffice to give a rapid sketch of it.

Melania, one of the noblest and wealthiest matrons of Rome, who at twenty-six years of age had lost her husband and two sons, devoted herself and her fortune to God in a life of rigorous asceticism (see above, p. 91). She went to Egypt, where Rufinus was ; together they became acquainted with admirers of Origen's works, especially with Didymus, the blind Master of the School of Alexandria, famed for his biblical and secular learning, and prodigious memory ; the friend of S. Antony and S. Hilary, and the teacher of Jerome,[3] and of other great theologians of the East and West. No wonder that Rufinus and Melania caught the admiration of Didymus for the writings of Origen.

Rufinus and Melania went together to Jerusalem, and founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives, A.D. 373, where they dwelt for twenty-five years. During their stay at Jerusalem they inspired the

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 279—281.

[3] By whom the blind Professor was called "*videns* meus."

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Bishop of that City, John of Jerusalem, with an admiration for Origen.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, author of the great work, still extant, against heresies, was distressed to hear that Palestine, his own native country (he was born near Eleutheropolis), was infected with false doctrine, and came on a visit of inquiry to Jerusalem, where he was hospitably received by the Bishop.[4] Soon however a feud arose between them. Epiphanius publicly charged John with Origenism,[5] and in fine declined to communicate with him, and exhorted Jerome and Paula and the inmates of their monastery at Bethlehem to detach themselves from him. On the other hand, Rufinus and Melania at Jerusalem adhered to him. Jerome entreated Epiphanius not to disturb the peace of the Church, but Epiphanius in his zeal against heresy rejected all overtures for reconciliation.

Epiphanius, who had retired for repose to a monastery in the Diocese of Eleutheropolis, proceeded further, though unintentionally, to exasperate John of Jerusalem. In that monastery which he had founded,[6] he ordained Paulinianus, brother of Jerome, to the Priesthood. John asserted that this act was an invasion of his own Episcopal authority,[7] and excommunicated Jerome and the inmates of the Monastery at Bethlehem. Epiphanius denied that he had invaded John's jurisdiction, and retorted upon him in a letter with a charge of Origenism,[8] which he exhorts him to renounce; and at the same time

[4] Jerome, Epist. 38, p. 334.
[5] See Jerome, Epist. 38.
[6] Ibid. Epist. 39, p. 337, and p. 823.
[7] Ibid. Epist. 38, p. 332; Epist. 39, p. 339.
[8] Epiphan. ap. Jerome, Epist. 110, p. 822.

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he accused Rufinus of the same heresy. Copies of this letter were circulated in Palestine; it was also translated into Latin by Jerome for the private use of Eusebius, Bishop of Cremona.[9] John of Jerusalem made a reply—or Apology—to it in a letter addressed to Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, which was designed to be an encyclic to all Bishops,[1] and this letter was circulated in the West as well as the East. Jerome was desired by his friend Pammachius at Rome to explain the state of the case, and in consequence of this requisition he wrote to Pammachius a letter,[2] in which he gave a full history of the controversy; and he wrote also a remonstrance to John himself which is quoted in that letter, in which he vindicated Epiphanius, and declared that he and his friends had been desirous of showing dutiful respect to the Bishop of Jerusalem. Jerome also wrote another letter to Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria,[3] who had suddenly, from being a partisan of Origenism, seen cause to abandon and condemn it,[4] and to espouse the cause of Epiphanius and Jerome, and who wished to put an end to the strife between them and John of Jerusalem.

In that letter Jerome expresses his earnest desire for peace. "Blessed are the peacemakers," says Jerome in that Epistle. "Thou soothest us as a father, and teachest us as a Master, and guidest us as a Bishop. Thou hast come to us in the spirit of love. We ourselves were sailing to the haven of peace, and thou hast given us a breeze to waft us to it. But we desire true peace; the peace of Christ. How can I

[9] Jerome, Epist. 33, p. 248.
[1] Ibid. Epist. 38, p. 309.
[2] Ibid. Epist. 38, p. 306.
[3] Epist. 39, p. 338.
[4] See Jerome, Epist. 59, and Epist. 60 ad Theoph. pp. 597—599.

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offer at His altar and receive His Body, and say 'Amen' at the reception of it in the Holy Eucharist, if I am not assured of the love of him who ministers it to me? I am loyal to thee because thou rulest in love. A Bishop ought to be loved, not feared. I reverence thee for thy learning, as well as for thy charity. But some there are who accuse me, and bring charges against my brother Paulinianus, and against the holy Bishop Epiphanius; and by these accusations I am wounded. I am charged with heresy and schism. I am also threatened by them (he refers to John of Jerusalem), with banishment, and I am under a ban of excommunication. I am prepared to suffer martyrdom for the truth. But yet I ask for peace. Let him be satisfied with our former wrongs. Let him be to us again a Bishop indeed, as he was formerly. We hold out our hands to him, and stretch forth our arms to him in love, which is the mother of all virtues. We have left our own country in order to live in quiet without strife, and in order to venerate Bishops as fathers, and not to dread them as lords; in a word, to be subject to Bishops as Bishops, and not to be slaves to them in the name of others, whom we do not own as our masters. We are not so proud as to be ignorant of what is due to the Ministers of Christ; he who receives them, receives not them, but Him Whose Bishops they are; but let them be content with their due honour. Let them know themselves to be fathers, not lords. May God answer your prayers that we may be joined together in genuine peace and love." Jerome's wishes for peace were granted, at least for a time.

John of Jerusalem generously revoked the ban of

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excommunication; and praise and joy were restored to the monastery of Bethlehem. He received Paulinianus, Jerome's brother, as a Priest of his Diocese, and requested Jerome to accept the charge of the Parish Church of Bethlehem.[5] He invited Rufinus to meet Jerome at the Holy Communion in the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. They again joined hands as brethren[6] at the sepulchre of Christ.

After this reconciliation Rufinus quitted Jerusalem for Rome. Melania remained in the convent on the Mount of Olives.

Unhappily, on his return to Rome, Rufinus thought fit to translate into Latin and to publish some works of Origen, especially his treatise "De Principiis,"[7] one of the most exceptionable of his writings.

Pope Siricius incautiously received and commended Rufinus. After the death of that Pope (A.D. 398) he was accused to Pope Anastasius of disseminating heresy. S. Jerome's friend Marcella, zealous for the faith, supported the charge. An appeal was made to Jerome himself at Bethlehem by some friends at Rome, who quoted some of the commendations which Jerome had formerly bestowed on Origen.

Rufinus himself had sheltered himself under the authority of his "brother and colleague Jerome's" name, in his preface[8] to his translation of Origen's work, and had referred to Jerome's praises of Origen.

[5] Sulp. Sever., Dialog. I.

[6] "Dextras junximus." Jerome in Rufin. iii. pp. 462 and 466, A.D. 397.

[7] περὶ ἀρχῶν. See above, vol. i. pp. 121, 271, 279, and Jerome's own letter, Epist. 94, ad Avitum, p. 762, on the heresies in that work of Origen.

[8] "Inter quos (Origenistas) etiam frater et collega noster Hieronymus," Prolog. in Peri Arch. p. 254.

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Thus Jerome while absent found himself exposed to a charge of heresy and inconsistency at Rome, from the hand of a brother to whom he had lately been reconciled in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. At the same time, Rufinus in his translation of Origen's treatise into Latin had so tampered with the text as to omit much that was objectionable, and to interpolate some orthodox paragraphs of his own; and some at Rome who read it were perplexed by the storm which had been raised in the East by Epiphanius and Jerome, and at length by Theophilus, against Origen as a heretic, and they admired Rufinus as a champion of a holy and learned Confessor who was no longer alive to vindicate himself.

Jerome, in a letter to his friends at Rome, Pammachius and Oceanus, explained [9] that in his youth, when a pupil of Didymus, he had been fascinated by the marvellous gifts of Origen. But he adds, "May not I admire a man's learning without adopting his blasphemies? Cyprian called Tertullian his Master, but did not follow him in his fanatical enthusiasm for Montanus and Maximilla. Eusebius was a great Ecclesiastical historian, but was also a partisan of Arius. I confess to have collected and read the writings of Origen; but because I know them all, for this very reason I am not a follower of Origen. I speak as a Christian to Christians. Some of his dogmas are poisonous; they are contrary to Scripture; they are distortions of Scripture. I have read Origen. Yes, I own it; and therefore I am not an Origenist; if I once was, I have now ceased so to be." [1]

[9] In his letter, Epist. 41, to Pammachius and Oceanus on the errors of Origen, p. 341, written about A.D. 399.

[1] In one of his letters, Epist. 56, p. 589, to Tranquillinus, he says, "I

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"And now as to his book *De Principiis*, on which you consult me. One hundred and fifty years have passed away since Origen died at Tyre. What Latin writer ever ventured to translate into our language his books on the Resurrection, or *De Principiis?* Who ever desired to incur obloquy by an infamous work? But let me not be supposed to reject all that Origen wrote. Are we more eloquent than Hilary, or more faithful than Victorinus, who made use of Origen's works not as translators, but as authors, by incorporating some things from them; as S. Ambrose[2] did lately, who borrowed a good deal from Origen's work on the Six Days of Creation, so as to adopt at the same time the teaching of Hippolytus and Basil. I myself was urged to translate those books which you mention, but declined to do so; which I should not have done, if I had desired to publish his errors to the Roman world."

Jerome proceeds, in a generous spirit, to do justice to Origen's merits.

"Does any one desire to praise Origen? Let him praise Origen, as I do, for those things in which he is

read Origen for his learning, as I do Tertullian and some other writers, Greek and Latin, in order to choose the good and shun the bad, according to St. Paul's precept, 1 Thess. v. 21, 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.' I keep a mean between the two extremes—of those who admire him entirely, and those who wholly condemn him. But if I must choose between the two, I prefer pious ignorance to learned blasphemy."

[2] Similarly in his letter to Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria (p. 337), Jerome says, "I am accused by some of having translated writings of Origen into Latin. I own it. I did what the Confessor Hilary did; but I omitted what was noxious, and translated what was healthful. I regard Origen, and all other uninspired writers, as belonging to a different class from the Apostles of Christ. The Apostles always say what is true; other writers, as subject to human infirmity, sometimes swerve from the truth."

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to be praised. He was great from infancy, and in good truth a Martyr's son. He was Master of the Ecclesiastical School at Alexandria, in succession to that most learned man, the Presbyter Clement. He shunned carnal pleasures, and in a zeal for God not according to knowledge, he mutilated himself. He trampled avarice under foot. He knew the Bible by heart, and laboured day and night in the exposition of it. He published a thousand sermons. Who of us is able to read as much as Origen wrote? Who does not admire his ardent love for the Scriptures? Let us not imitate the vices of a man with whose virtues we are not able to cope.

"For my own part, I am content with the ancient faith. To any one who brings me any new dogmas I say, Have mercy on my Roman ears. Have mercy on that Roman faith which was praised by St. Paul (Rom. i. 8). Why after four hundred years do you try to teach us any doctrine which we did not know before? Why do you believe in dogmas which Paul and Peter did not preach?[3] Up to this day the World has been Christian without those dogmas. Now that I am old I will retain the faith which I professed when I was a boy."

Rufinus was summoned by Pope Anastasius to appear before him at Rome, but he retired first to Milan, then to his own country, Aquileia. Anastasius received a letter from the Bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus, announcing that Origen's writings

[3] These words of Jerome—a "doctor maximus" of the Church, whom Rome lauds in her Breviary as such (above, p. 115, note), and Secretary of a Pope—might well have been pondered by the Church of Rome, and might have saved her from putting forth the new dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility.

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had been condemned in a Council held in that city. Anastasius followed that example, and Origenism was rejected by the common judgment of the East and West.[4]

It would be unprofitable to follow Rufinus in his invectives[5] against Jerome, and to recount the vituperative recriminations in that painful controversy.[6] Jerome himself appears to have been heartily sick of it. "I call to witness," he says[7] to Rufinus, "Jesus Christ our Mediator, that I stoop reluctantly to such language as this, and that unless you had provoked the strife, I should never have uttered a word. Cease then from your accusations, and I will cease from my defence. What an edifying spectacle is it for our people, to see two old men duelling about heretics, especially since each of us desires to be thought a Catholic. Let us cease from patronizing heretics, and the conflict will be over. Origen has now been condemned by the whole world. Let us yield to its judgment. Let us cheerfully follow the two primates of the East and West (Theophilus of Alexandria and Anastasius of Rome) in their sentence upon him. When we were young, we were wrong; let us be right now we are old. You, my brother, rejoice in my correction; I, your friend, will congratulate you on your conversion."

Rufinus was not touched by this appeal. He brooded in silence over his condemnation. Rage rankled in his heart, and in a paroxysm of revenge he threatened to kill Jerome, if he did not reply to cer-

[4] Jerome in Rufin. ii. 417; iii. 453.

[5] Called "Apologia." Jerome in Rufin. iv. 443.

[6] They may be seen side by side in parallel columns in the Benedictine edition of Jerome's works, iv. pp. 350—473.

[7] P. 445.

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tain interrogations which he put to him.[8] At length, when Aquileia was destroyed by Alaric, Rufinus fled into Sicily, and there died. And the enmity of these former friends, which survived in Jerome's mind when Rufinus was no more,[9] is a melancholy proof that the seclusion and studies of a monastery, even in the holiest places, such as Bethlehem—the retreat of Jerome—and such as the Mount of Olives—that of Rufinus—the sites of the Nativity and Ascension of the Prince of Peace—are not safeguards against passions which He came to calm, and which after His return to heaven He sent the Spirit of Peace to soothe, and to change into love and joy.

Jerome had begun life as a controversialist with writing a Dialogue in refutation of an error in Church Discipline; he ended it with a similar Dialogue on a heresy as to Christian Doctrine. The former was against the Luciferians,[1] the latter (written about A.D. 414, six years before his death) against the Pelagians.

Pelagius, or Morgan,[2] probably a native of Wales, a monk, came to Rome at the close of the fourth or early in the fifth century, and became acquainted with Rufinus, from whom he seems to have derived some dogmas of Origen. He was acknowledged by his opponents to be a person of liberal education, of singular acumen and extensive learning, specious address, attractive manners, and sanctity of life. He began to disseminate his opinions at Rome, A. D. 405, and in the year 408, when Italy was menaced by the

[8] Jerome in Rufin. ii. p. 421.

[9] See Jerome's Epist. 95, ad Rufin. iv. p. 776, written A.D. 411.

[1] See above, chap. vi. and chap. viii.

[2] *Mari-genitus*, whence his Greek and Latin name *Pelagius*.

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Goths, he passed over into Sicily with his fellow-monk and pupil Cœlestius, and in A.D. 411 came to Africa and Hippo. Thence he travelled to Egypt and Palestine, where he gained the favour of John, Bishop of Jerusalem; and notwithstanding the remonstrance of Orosius, the friend of Augustine, he was received into communion by the Synod of Diospolis or Lydda (A.D. 415). He was also supported by Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, who has been regarded by some as the author of his heresy, and who wrote five books[3] in favour of Pelagius against a person whom he called Haram, by whom he meant Jerome. In the following year Pelagius was condemned for his heretical opinions by the Councils of Carthage and Milevis, and by Innocent, Bishop of Rome. After Innocent's death, A.D. 417, Pelagius and Cœlestius were acquitted by his successor, Pope Zosimus. Augustine and the African Bishops remonstrated with Zosimus; and in two other Synods at Carthage (A.D. 417, and a larger one in 418) they re-affirmed their sentence against Pelagius, and obtained from the Emperor Honorius an Imperial Edict against him, on which Pope Zosimus receded from his position, and joined the African Church in condemning Pelagius.[4] Eighteen Italian Bishops were deposed (among whom was Julian of

[3] Photius, Cod. 177.

[4] In his Epistola Tractoria. That this was written *after* the African Council and the rescript of Honorius (and not *before* it, as is supposed by Baronius), and that it appeared *after* it, is shown by Tillemont, xiii. 738, and the Benedictine Editors of Augustine's Works (Præf. ad Tom. x. § 18, p. 114, ed. Paris, 1838), and Gieseler, § 87. Fleury, Hist. xxiii. 50, supposes that the sentence of condemnation was pronounced by Zosimus before the tidings of the decree of the plenary Council of Carthage of A.D. 418 had reached Rome.

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Eclanum, against whom Augustine[5] wrote), who refused to join in that act of condemnation. Being driven from Rome, Pelagius went again to Palestine, where he was condemned at Jerusalem by a Synod of Eastern Bishops under Theodotus, Bishop of Antioch. He then disappears from history; the time and place of his death are unknown.

The principal tenets of Pelagius and his adherents, as derived from their own works,[6] are these:—

They denied Original Sin.

Their principal assertions were,—

That man can, by his own free will, choose what is good as well as what is evil.

That man, by his own efforts, can obtain everlasting salvation.

That by the help of Christianity he may obtain a still higher state—the Kingdom of heaven.

That for the attainment of that higher state (the Kingdom of heaven) Baptism is necessary.

That for the attainment of that higher state God gives man help by the teaching and example of Christ.

That man is helped by divine Grace.

But by *divine Grace* Pelagius did not mean the *inner* working of the Holy Spirit in the heart, but rather the outward action of Christian instruction and example upon the mind and will.

That God's predestination of man's future state is founded on God's foreknowledge of man's life and acts.

[5] Contra Julianum Libri vi. in the 10th Volume of the Benedictine Edition.

[6] A Catalogue is given of the works of Pelagius by Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 382; of Cœlestius, ibid. p. 384; of Julian, p. 400; and by Gieseler, § 87, who also quotes passages from which their opinions are extracted, as stated in the text.

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The Pelagian heresy, like most other forms of false doctrine, that have been permitted to arise in the Church, had its uses; it counteracted a growing tendency to disturb the balance between Divine Grace and Human Will. Many there were, who lost the sense of human responsibility by casting the whole burden of the work of human salvation upon divine Grace. The sacrament of Baptism was, in the theology of some, a mere *opus operatum*. The reception of it was delayed by many till the approach of death, in order that, by the working of God's grace in that sacrament, men might be rescued in a moment from sin and perdition, and be raised to a condition of perfect holiness, and to a certainty of everlasting glory.

The Church derived great good from the Pelagian Controversy, not only by the vindication of the doctrine of the absolute necessity of Divine Grace as the only fountain and well-spring of spiritual life and future bliss, but also as deepening the sense of human duty, and of the moral obligation on man's part so to use the freedom of his will that divine grace might not be given in vain.

Jerome undertook the refutation of Pelagianism at a critical point in its history, in A.D. 414, the year before it gained a temporary triumph at the Synod of Diospolis[7] (Lydda), to which Pelagius was summoned by Eulogius, Bishop of Cæsarea,[8] in consequence of an accusation of two Bishops of Gaul, Heros of Arles, and Lazarus of Aix, who did not however prosecute the charge; and if Jerome's work had been written in

[7] Held December, A.D. 415. "Illa miserabilis Synodus Diospolitana," Jerome ad Augustin., Epist. 81, p. 646.

[8] See Aug. de Gestis Pelagii, 2, 37—44, where is a full account of the proceedings of this Synod.

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Greek, it might have done much to avert that catastrophe. The efforts of Orosius in the East had been less effectual on account of his ignorance of the Greek language, and many of the Easterns knew little of Latin.[9] And the bias of Eastern theology was strongly in favour of human responsibility, and of the power of the human will, to say nothing of the influence of the teaching of Origen, and still more of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which had a strong Pelagianizing tendency. The anti-Pelagian manifestoes were as yet utterances only of Bishops and Synods of the West; and some were vacillating there.

Jerome began his work against Pelagius by a letter to a friend, Ctesiphon.[1] He quotes the saying of Tertullian, that the heathen Philosophers were the Patriarchs of the heretics,[2] and asserts that the origin of Pelagianism was in the tenet of the Stoics that man may subdue and extinguish his passions by his own will, and become equal in impeccability to God. He also asserts that they borrowed some dogmas from the Manichæans and Priscillianists, who affirmed that those whom they called "the elect" and "the perfect" were exempt from all taint of sin; and he adds that they derived some of their opinions from Origen, who

[9] At the Conference of Jerusalem in the summer of A.D. 415, where the Bishop of Jerusalem, John, presided, Orosius, the champion of orthodoxy, spoke Latin, and John spoke Greek; and they communicated by an interpreter, who seems to have been a partisan. In that conference, when John imputed what he called blasphemy to Orosius, Orosius replied, "How could the Bishop, who is a Greek and knows no Latin, understand me, who speak Latin and no Greek?" See Augustine de Gestis Pelag. c. 14, and c. 30.

[1] Epist. 43, p. 474.

[2] Tertullian contra Hermog. c. 8; de Animâ, c. 3; and Præscr. Hæret. c. 7, 30. See above, vol. i. pp. 240, 251.

[3] Jerome, p. 477, addressing a Pelagian, says, "Doctrina tua Ori-

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said that the Saints of God were not assailed by any evil concupiscence. He affirms that they were followers of Jovinian, who taught that a man who had been once regenerate by baptism in fulness of faith could never fall away by the wiles of the devil;[4] and that when Pelagius speaks of man being aided by divine grace, he means that God, in His gracious goodness to man, has given him once for all at his birth the faculty of choosing good, and of avoiding evil, by his own free will.[5]

On the other hand, Jerome asserts that man has hourly need of God's grace to enable him to will what is right and to do it; and that when he has done all in his power, he is an unprofitable servant, and a debtor to God, and is in all things dependent upon Him; and that no one can be justified by his own doings, but only by the blood of Christ, and by faith in that blood; and that while it is true, that human *nature*,[6] being God's gift, is not evil, yet the flesh lusteth against the Spirit; and that a man is saved only by the free grace of God; and he appeals to Scripture in proof of all his assertions (Phil. ii. 12, 13. Luke xvii. 10. James iv. 13—15. Ps. xxv. 15. Jer. x. 23. Rom. vii. 21—24; viii. 3; ix. 20. Gal. v. 17. Eph. ii. 18).

He ends with saying, "Many years have now passed away; from my youth up till now I have always

genis ramusculus est (virum sanctum non cogitatione vitiorum aliquâ titillari)—Joviniani secunda quæstio tui ingenii disciplina est." These propositions are enlarged upon in the Preface to Jerome's Dialogue against the Pelagians, p. 484.

[4] Jerome in Jovinian. p. 146, "Plenâ fide in baptismate renatos a diabolo non posse subverti."

[5] P. 477.

[6] "A me nunquam audies *malam* esse *naturam* (p. 480); sed de fragilitate carnis interroga quid dixerit Apostolus." And so S. Augustine, "Peccatum non est natura, sed vitium naturæ." "Sin is not nature, but a flaw of nature."

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tried to speak to others what I had learnt in the Church, and not to run after speculations of Philosophers, but to acquiesce in the simplicity of the Apostles. For it is written, 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise' (Isa. xxix. 14), and 'the foolishness of God is wiser than men'" (1 Cor. i. 19, 25).

In his preface[7] to this Dialogue against the Pelagians (which consists of three books), he repeats some of the assertions of his letter to Ctesiphon, and referring to the Manichæans he adds, "They condemn human nature, and take away divine grace and free will. It is the height of madness for a man to claim to be God. But let us walk in the royal road, and neither swerve to the right hand nor to the left, and let us say that the desires of our free will are governed always by the help of God."

In the Dialogue itself, he confirms the propositions already laid down in the Epistle to Ctesiphon, by additional arguments from Scripture. It is observable in reference to his former controversy with S. Augustine on that subject,[8] when he had maintained a different opinion, that he allows that Peter was "to be blamed"[9] in his altercation with Paul at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11). He denies that baptism makes any one perfect; baptism is a deliverance from prison, and if a man perseveres after his release, he receives a reward. And (in p. 533) he says, "If it were possible that the waters of baptism should always detain us plunged in the font, the sins flying over us would not touch us, and the Holy Spirit would ever defend us; but our ghostly Enemy wars against us, and never departs from us, and is trying to wound us with his darts. Christ alone is without sin."

[7] Pp. 483—485. [8] See below, pp. 219—224. [9] P. 498.

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The Pelagians seem to have despised with supercilious Stoicism all ornaments of attire as earthly vanities, contrary to God's will. "Are Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical order (says the orthodox interlocutor) doing what is hateful to God when, in the administration of the sacraments, they come forth in a white vestment?"[1]

He observes that the Purification of Women after Childbirth, as prescribed in the divine law (Lev. xii. 2), was an evidence of Original Sin; and that the universality of birth-sin is asserted in both Testaments (Job xv. 14; cp. ix. 2. Ps. xix. 12. 1 John i. 8. Rom. iii. 23; xi. 32; p. 532); and that the sacrifices prescribed in the Law for sins of *ignorance* (as well as for wilful sins) is a proof that no one has the means of determining the amount and degree of his own culpability in the sight of Him Who reads the heart, which often deceives itself[2] (Prov. xiv. 12; xx. 9).

He observes that almost all the Epistles of St. Paul have the word *Grace* at their beginning and ending; and that the Apostle, who laboured more abundantly than all, ascribes all that he did to God's grace (1 Cor. xv. 9, 10), and says that he could do nothing by his own power (2 Cor. iii. 5); and affirms that man is justified only by God's free grace, and not by his own will or work (Gal. ii. 16, 21; iii. 10, 13, 21; v. 4).

[1] "Candidâ veste processerint," p. 502. As to the dress of the Christian Priesthood in ministering the Sacraments, see Chrys. Hom. in Matt. 82, where he describes them as wearing λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα, and other similar passages quoted by Bingham, XIII. viii. 2. Palmer, Orig. Liturg. App. ii. p. 307.

[2] Pp. 507, 508, 509.

[3] *All* except that to the Hebrews, which has the word *grace* at the *end*. May I be allowed to refer to my note on 1 Thess. v. 28?

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Against the Pelagian allegation, that God cannot be supposed to command men to do what is impossible, and that therefore they can save themselves by their obedience to God's law, Jerome says that God does not command what is impossible, but sets before men a high standard of perfection[4] to teach them humility, and in order that they may not rely only on their own will (as the Pelagians did), but labour with all diligence and perseverance, and in all their labours might seek by prayer for divine Grace, without which their labour is vain; and that things which are impossible with men are possible with God (Matt. xix. 25, 26. Mark x. 27). Man may be preserved without sin by God's grace, but he cannot be preserved from sin by his own power (p. 534).[5]

It is observable that Jerome's theology stands clear of that form of teaching, which in some later systems represented the Almighty and merciful Father of all as creating some men to be eternally miserable. Jerome ascribes such a notion to Marcion and his school;[6] and says, "God judges what is present, not what is future. He does not condemn any one from a foreknowledge of the evil he will do; but He is a God of such goodness and ineffable clemency, that He chooses one whom He sees for the present to be good, and whom He foreknows will be evil, and gives him power to be converted and repent if he will (Rom. ii. 4, 5). Adam did not sin *because* God *foreknew* that he would sin, but God, as God, foreknew what Adam, by his own free will, would do. God

[4] "Non impossibilia, sed perfectissima," p. 517.

[5] In an Epistle, Epist. 97 ad Demetriad., written at this time (A.D. 414), he says (p. 791), "To will, and not to will, is ours, and that very thing which is ours, is not ours without the mercy of God."

[6] P. 536.

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pronounced judgment on Nineveh by the mouth of Jonah; but God sent Jonah to preach repentance to Nineveh, and God spared Nineveh when it listened to the divine message, and repented of its sin. In all such questions as these we must submit ourselves humbly to God's[7] plain declarations in His own Word"[8] (p. 537).

He argues also against man's impeccability from the Christian Sacraments (p. 543). "Men," he says, "are baptized; they rise from the font regenerate, and are received into the Body of Christ. Immediately after baptism, in their first Communion they repeat the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our sins,' and they pray to God for help, 'Deliver us from evil.' But you Pelagians say that man can be without sin, and can save himself.

"But," asks the Pelagian (p. 544)," how have *Infants* sinned? they at least are not guilty of sins of presumption or of ignorance." "I grant," replies the orthodox interlocutor, "that they are without sin by means of the grace of God received in baptism; and Infants are to be baptized because they come into the world tainted by that corruption which all men derive from Adam, as the Apostle testifies (Rom. v. 14), and as the holy Martyr Cyprian declares."[9]

In conclusion Jerome writes thus:—"Some time ago that holy and eloquent Bishop, Augustine, wrote two treatises to Marcellinus concerning the baptism of Infants whom you (Pelagians) assert to be bap-

[7] Words wisely adopted at the close of our own XVIIth Article.

[8] Pages 521, 522, 523 are specimens of Jerome's marvellous knowledge of Holy Scripture—and of his readiness in applying it—in an age which had no Concordances.

[9] For Cyprian's testimony on Infant Baptism, see above, vol. i. p. 57.

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tized, not that they may receive remission of sins, but for admission into the Kingdom of heaven. He has written a third treatise to Marcellinus against those who say, as you do, that any man may be without sin, if he wills so to be, apart from God's grace; and he has written a treatise to Hilarius of Syracuse against Pelagianism. He is reported to be composing other works on your account, which I have not yet seen. Consequently I am of opinion that any further labour on my part in this matter may be dispensed with, lest I should be encountered with the saying of Horace, 'Don't carry wood into a forest.'[1] For either I should write the same things as Augustine had done, which would be surplusage; or if I wished to say something new, it would have been anticipated by that distinguished man in a better way."

This work of Jerome against Pelagianism was his final utterance on any question of Christian doctrine. It is the more valuable on that account. It was the gathering in of a harvest of spiritual labour. Jerome had done more for Biblical Criticism than any man in his age, or perhaps than any one in the ancient Church; and was not surpassed by any after him. He was a man of strong will and vehement passions; he was consulted as a theological oracle by admirers in all parts of the Western Church; he was, therefore, under many temptations to dogmatize with somewhat of the arbitrary waywardness and speculative audacity of Origen, and to magnify the powers of the human will in disparagement of the gifts of Divine Grace. But he manfully resisted all these allurements. In his old age this great critic and theologian sat down with

[1] Horat., 1 Sat. x. 34.

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the meekness of a Mary of Bethany at the feet of Jesus, and listened humbly to the utterances of the Incarnate Word in His Written Word, on the doctrines rejected by Pelagius; and he paid a tribute of respectful veneration to his younger contemporary S. Augustine, with whom he had before been engaged in controversy. He did not entangle himself or his readers in the labyrinthine mazes of speculation on those other difficult questions which sprung up from the Pelagian heresy, but contented himself in childlike submission and simplicity with the declarations of the oracles of God on the work of Universal Redemption wrought by the Saviour of the World, and on the outpouring of the Divine Grace of Sanctification upon all, for the discipline of all by holiness on earth, and for the fruition of everlasting glory in heaven, as the fruit of that blessed work of Universal Redemption by Christ (Titus ii. 11; iii. 4).

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CHAPTER IX.

Letters of Jerome—Christian Life, spiritual and secular, and Christian Education, as displayed in them—Ecclesiastical Writers—Clerical Life and Studies—Travels in Palestine—Biblical Criticism and Exposition—Translation of the Holy Scriptures—Secular Studies—Correspondence with Augustine.

PROBABLY there are no writings in the range of ancient Literature which reflect more light on Christian life, secular and spiritual, in the fourth and fifth centuries, and on the religious controversies of the day, than the Letters of the two great Fathers of the Western Church, Jerome and Augustine.

Of the two, the Letters of Jerome are more distinguished by their variety of subjects, and by their hortatory admonitions on spiritual life, and convey more information as to facts; while those of Augustine will be read with great profit for the clear solutions they offer of difficult problems, whether of Christian doctrine or discipline.

Happily for the student of Church history, these letters have been arranged in chronological order[1] by

[1] Not only Jerome's Epistles, but all his writings ought to be studied *chronologically*. Some sayings of his are now commonly quoted as expressing his deliberate opinions, whereas they were only crude utterances

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the learned labours of the Benedictine Editors of their works.

Jerome's Correspondence extends to nearly fifty years, from A.D. 368 to 415.[2] S. Jerome's earlier Epistles are occupied by enthusiastic commendations of the monastic and eremitical life. The letter to Heliodorus,[3] which is an eloquent eulogy of the charms of the desert, was written by him, as he himself tells us, when he was "almost a boy,"[4] fresh from a school of rhetoricians. In one of his letters from the desert of Syria, when he was harassed by the attacks of Greek monks who adhered to Meletius at Antioch and shunned communion with Paullinus,[5] he appeals to Pope Damasus at Rome for directions, with which of the two Bishops he ought to communicate, and whether he may use the word *hypostasis* in the sense of *person*.

His reverence for the See of Rome, and his opinion as to the necessity of being in communion with it, are strongly expressed in this letter, written to Damasus.

Jerome's opinions on the Roman See, on the Episcopate, and on the Priesthood, seem to have varied at different times. He thought it necessary to be of one mind with Pope Damasus; he advised Demetrias[6] to follow the doctrine of Popes Anastasius and Innocent. But he praised Marcella[7] for resisting

of his unripe years, and were afterwards revised by him. Jerome did not do—what Augustine did—he did not write a book of "Retractationes." It is more necessary for his readers to do it for him.

[2] Some of his letters are placed by the Benedictine Editors as early as A.D. 364 or 365; but if he was born, as seems probable, not before A.D. 350, this would be too early a date.

[3] Epist. 5, p. 6.

[4] "Adolescens imo pene puer—calentibus adhuc Rhetorum studiis atque doctrinis," Epist. 34, p. 527.

[5] See above, p. 120.

[6] Epist. 97, p. 793.

[7] Epist. 96, de Marcellæ Obitu, p. 782, "Publicè restitit, malens Deo

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Siricius, when that Pope encouraged Rufinus in his Origenistic errors.

In his letter to Evangelus, the date of which is uncertain, he says,[8] "Wherever a Bishop is, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, his official merit and ministry is the same." He did not think the Bishop of Rome infallible or supreme over other Bishops, but Primate among his brethren. "All Bishops," he says, "are successors of the Apostles;[9] and Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Christian Church correspond to the three orders of High Priest, Priests, and Levites in the Mosaic dispensation."[1] "What," he asks, "can a Bishop do, which a Priest cannot do, except conferring Holy Orders?"[2] He is there vindicating the dignity of the Priesthood against the encroachment of Deacons upon it, and magnifies the Priestly office. In another place he speaks of Confirmation as belonging to the Episcopate, and he gives to Augustine as a Bishop the title of "Dominus verè sanctus et beatissimus Papa."[3]

But to return. Jerome came back to Rome from the East, A.D. 383, and wrote his celebrated letter to Eustochium, who had accompanied her mother Paula in her journey from Rome, and exhorted her to continue in her maiden estate; and gave her a series of precepts for the spiritual life to which she had devoted herself.

In that letter (which has been already described[4])

placere quam hominibus," where he speaks of the "simplicitas Episcopi qui de suo ingenio cæteros æstimabat."

[8] Epist. 102, p. 803. See also his words above, p. 144, on the Roman see.

[9] Ibid.

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Epist. 66, 69, 71, 74, 75.

[4] Above, chap. vi. p. 123.

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he addressed himself to the unmarried ladies of Rome, represented by Eustochium, and portrayed the moral evils to which they were exposed in their intercourse not only with persons of their own rank, but with many monks and clergy of that capital; and then proceeded to describe the joys of the future angelic life, to which that of the Christian Virgin is a prelude.[5] "Picture to yourself the glory which eye has not seen nor ear heard, reserved for thee. Think of that day when the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord, will meet thee, attended with a Virgin quire; and when, after the passage of the Red Sea of this life, and the submersion of thy spiritual Pharaoh and his host, Miriam the sister of Aaron, with her timbrel in her hand, will welcome thee with a triumphal song; and when Thecla will spring forth with joy to embrace thee, and the Bridegroom Himself will say, 'Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for the winter is past, the rain is over and gone'" (Canticles ii. 10, 11).

We can hardly be surprised that many of the virgins of Rome were transported in youthful enthusiasm by such rapturous and ecstatic appeals, and quitted the city, which Jerome portrayed in such dark colours, for the spiritual Paradise to which he invited them.

In the following letter to his friend Marcella, who was a pattern of that holy life, Jerome describes the spiritual change which had been wrought in a noble widow, Blesilla, the eldest daughter of Paula, at twenty years of age, by sickness and sorrow. Even here he could not forbear displaying a satirical contrast between the frivolities of fashionable life—the

[5] Epist. 18, p. 49.

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toilette, the jewels and pearls, the silk and the rouge, the saloon, the boudoir, the languishing lounge on the downy sofa during day—and the joys of the simple fare, the black dress, the peaceful retirement, the prayers, psalms, and hymns, the penitential tears of the life devoted to God, which Blesilla had received as a blessed exchange for a life of worldly vanity and weariness.

In a letter to the same Marcella he describes the peaceful death of Lea, who had renounced the world and become the head of a monastery of Virgins, and had just been buried at Ostia. "She is now welcomed by quires of Angels, she reposes in Abraham's bosom—" and he contrasts her death with that of an illustrious Roman Patrician just deceased, Prætextatus, on the eve of his Consulate, who had lately been received with the applause of Rome to the Capitol, but was now lying as a corpse without hope.

Three days after this letter he wrote to the same Marcella in praise of another noble lady, Asella. As a girl twelve years of age, persuaded by a dream of her father, she had renounced the world and devoted herself to the virgin estate, and lived a life of religious seclusion[6] in the heart of Rome itself. She found a "Paradise in a cell," which she never quitted, except to visit, secretly and alone, the tombs of the Martyrs.

Blesilla, already mentioned, did not long survive her husband. Many at Rome complained that her life had been cut short by rigorous austerities,[7] and they clamoured for the expulsion of "the execrable

[6] "Unius cellulæ seclusa angustiis latitudine Paradisi fruebatur, nunquam pedem proferens in publicum, nunquam verè noscens alloquium," p. 53.

[7] "Jejuniis interfectam," p. 59.

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tribe of Monks" from Rome. "Why are they not stoned?" they exclaimed. "Why are they not thrown into the sea—they who have led astray this unhappy matron—Paula—who weeps so bitterly for her daughter Blesilla?"

The letter of Jerome to Paula, in which these words occur, was written to reprove her for her immoderate grief for her daughter Blesilla's death. He praises Paula for her resolve to quit her home —like Abraham going out of Chaldæa to the promised Land—and to renounce the world; to give up herself to prayer, fasting, and reading of Scripture, and to devote her wealth and herself to Christ.[8] He represents to her in glowing words the happiness which her daughter Blesilla now enjoys, and represents her as making a joyous and yet pathetic appeal to her mother: "O my mother, grudge me not my present glory. Do not think that I am alone. No. I have with me the Mother of the Lord. I have Anna the prophetess, the widow of the Gospel. You weep for me. I rather weep for you, who art still confined in the prison of the World."

Jerome concludes with assuring Paula that he will never forget her daughter Blesilla. "Her name is engraved on my heart with that of Paula and Eustochium. She will live for ever in my books. She will hear me always conversing with her sister and mother."[9]

The next Epistle was written to Eustochium, the

[8] P. 58.

[9] Jerome does not say that he will *pray* for her. Indeed, though many of his letters are full of affectionate references to departed friends, and of consolatory reflections on their deaths, there is no letter (if I remember rightly) in which he promises to pray for their happiness in another world.

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younger sister of Blesilla. He thanks her for a letter and some gifts.

He mentions that his letter is written on "the birthday" (i.e. the martyrdom) of St. Peter, 29th June; and says that such festivals ought to be celebrated with holy joy; with the study of Scripture, not unmingled with innocent wit; not in surfeiting, but with spiritual overflow. He therefore plays in a jocular strain upon the presents sent to him by Eustochium—the doves, armlets, pepper, and a jar of cherries.

In another Epistle to Marcella[1] he refers to the calumnies of some of his critics, who said that he had tried "to correct the Gospels." "Such people," he says, "think that, because they are ignorant, they are saints, and that because they are illiterate they are disciples of Apostles, who were fishermen. Let them know that I am not such a dotard as to think that any of our Lord's words are to be corrected, or are not divinely inspired. No; but what I have done is to amend the faults of our Latin translation by means of the Greek Original." He then describes the dissolute licentiousness and worldly covetousness of some priests[2] at Rome, who call themselves Christians but imitate heathens in their vices; and who censure him for having exhorted Christian women to avoid them. He returns to the same charge in another letter to Marcella.[3]

In the next Epistle[4] to her he guards her against the errors of the Montanists,[5] their self-imposed

[1] Epist. 25, p. 62.
[2] Called "nummarii sacerdotes," Epist. 26, p. 63.
[3] Epist. 26 ad Marcellam "de Onaso," one of Jerome's critics.
[4] Epist. 27, p. 64.
[5] See above, vol. i. p. 234.

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fasts, their fanatical visions and prophecies, and their schismatical ordinations. "With us, Bishops hold the place of the Apostles," he says; "the Montanists have Bishops at their own will, whom they rank in the third place after their Patriarchs, and those whom they call Cenones. They feign that God has spoken to them by special revelations of the Paraclete in Montanus their founder, and in his crazy female associates, Prisca and Maximilla. But why should I dwell on their heresy in a letter to you? You are well instructed in Holy Scripture, and can refute them thereby."

The next letter,[6] to Asella,[7] is a brief narrative of his own personal history. He wrote it in the year 385, just when on the point of quitting Rome, where he had resided three years, for the East.

He describes the obloquy he incurred by his lectures to the young Ladies of Rome on the Holy Scriptures, and the detraction of which he was the victim in consequence of his spiritual relations with Paula and her daughter. He refers to the honour in which he was held by others, so that, having been secretary and confidential adviser of Pope Damasus, he was thought by them worthy to be his successor. He prefers, however, a life of religious asceticism to all the glories of Rome. He had hoped to be of some use in its reformation, but his efforts have been in vain. He regrets that he ever left Sinai for Egypt. He now quits Babylon for Jerusalem. "I have been treacherously traduced by calumnies; but I submit, for I well know that it is only by evil as well as good report that men can enter the Kingdom of heaven. Salute Paula and Eustochium, who are mine, whether the world

[6] Epist. 28. [7] On whom see above, pp. 90, 97.

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wills it or no. Salute Albina, and Marcella, and Felicitas; and say to them, We must hereafter stand together at the judgment-seat of Christ; and then it will be known to all what our lives have been. Farewell, and calm the waves of the sea with your prayers."

Jerome had written some biographies of persons famous for sanctity; Paul the eremite,[8] Hilarion the hermit,[9] Malchus the monk;[1] and he intended to write a history of the Church; and these biographies were preludes to that history. But he did not execute his design. He made, however, a valuable contribution towards such a work by his brief summary of the Lives[2] of Ecclesiastical Authors from the death of Christ to the year 392—the fourteenth year of the reign of Theodosius. He says modestly that he has had great difficulty in composing this biographical onomasticon, because having had no predecessor, he is forced to learn of the worst master—himself.[3] However he owns that the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius was of the greatest use to him. He composed this work at Bethlehem, in what he calls "an unknown corner of the world," and addressed it to Dexter, a Prefect of the Imperial Prætorium, who had urged him to undertake it in order to show to the heathen the falsehood of the cavil of philosophers such as Celsus, Julian, and Porphyry, that Christianity was the religion of illiterate men, and could not show any Writers comparable to those of Paganism.

This Catalogue consists of 135 names, ending with that of Jerome himself. He does not mention his

[8] P. 68. [9] P. 75.

[1] P. 70. "Scribere disposui ab Adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostri temporis fæcem." [2] P. 98.

[3] "Pessimum magistrum memet ipsum habeo."

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own work against Jovinian. The Catalogue begins with St. Peter; and it is remarkable, as a proof of the lack of Theological Learning at Rome, that Jerome, who had been a secretary of a Pope, and had the best opportunity in this respect, could only enumerate four other Bishops of Rome—Clemens, Victor, Cornelius, and Damasus—in this long list of Ecclesiastical writers.

This Catalogue is followed by an interesting letter of Jerome to Pammachius, a cousin of Marcella, and son-in-law of Paula, "on the best mode of translating,"[4] in which he censures servile interpretations. He praises the following dictum of Cicero:—"In my versions of authors I have thought it my duty to *weigh out*, rather than to *count out*, the words of the original, and to give its sense rather than the letter." At the same time, says Jerome, some exception must be made in the case of the Holy Scriptures, where "the very *order* of the words is a mystery."[5] He adds some interesting remarks on the difference between the method of interpretation followed in the Septuagint, which has "justly obtained a place of authority in the Church," and the literal version of Aquila, whom he calls "a contentious interpreter."

Jerome, by his extensive travels, and his residence at Rome and other great cities in the West and East, and by his intimate familiarity—such as few of his contemporaries possessed—with the Greek language and literature as well as Latin, and by his wide

[4] Epist. 33, p. 248, "de optimo genere interpretandi."

[5] P. 250, "Scripturis Sanctis, ubi *et verborum ordo mysterium est.*" The ingenious application of this sentence by Dr. Bentley to collations of MSS. of the Vulgate is known to the critical reader. See Bentley's Works, iii. 506—509, and his Correspondence, ii. 504, 792, 793.

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correspondence, had acquired a knowledge of mankind and of human society, which enabled him to give good practical advice to others, especially to Ecclesiastics.

One of the most interesting of his letters[6] was written to a young Priest, Nepotian, the nephew of his friend Heliodorus, on the duties of the Christian Priesthood. It may be read with profit by the Clergy in every age. "A Clergyman,"[7] he says, "belongs to God. Thence is his name. The Lord is his inheritance,[8] and he is in the Lord's heritage.[9] I entreat you, therefore—I conjure you—do not regard the Clerical life as a mere warfare for earthly wages. Flee, as a plague, a Clergyman who works as a huckster for pelf. Avoid all scandals. Do not remain alone in the company of young women. Do not receive presents from them—such as handkerchiefs and comforters,[1] and dainties from their tables, and bland and sweet billets-doux—these are not things for holy love. Names of endearment, and amatory follies—we blush at these even in Comedies, how much more in the life of a Priest.

He then speaks of the law against Mortmain. "I do not complain of the law, but I deplore our covetousness which needed it; and yet we elude it by means of Trusteeships. The glory of a Bishop is to provide for the poor; the ignominy of a Priest is to try and make himself rich. Read the Holy Scriptures; let them never go out of your hand. Learn what you must teach. Hold fast sound doctrine, that you may be able to convince the

[6] Epist. 34, p. 257. [7] κληρικός. [8] κλῆρος.
[9] Clericus—a κλῆρος, a lot—the lot of God.
[1] "Fasciolas," literally swathing-bands to keep the arms and legs warm.

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gainsayers. 'Meditate on these things; give yourself wholly to them.' Let not your life refute your sermons. Let no one be able to say to you, when you preach in the Church, Why do you not practise what you preach? The mouth, the heart, the hand of a Priest ought to agree. Be dutiful to your Bishop; receive him as the father of your soul. When you preach in the Church, do not look for applause, but for tears. The people's weeping is your praise. Let the Priest's preaching be seasoned by the study of God's Word.

"I would not have you a mere fluent and frothy declaimer, but to be expert in the mysteries of God, and in His Holy Sacraments. Only illiterate men try to excel by volubility of words, and rapidity of utterance, and thus to win popular admiration. Nothing is so easy as to cheat an ignorant multitude by fluency of speech. In your dress neither be sordid nor fine. Priestly poverty is honourable, not meanness. Some give alms to win credit, and to gain more. Do not try to do everything. The body has different members, and each has its place. One in the Church is like the eye, another the tongue, another the hand, another the foot. Let not the boorish brother think himself a saint because he knows nothing; nor let the learned and eloquent brother measure his own holiness by his tongue. It is better to have a holy clownishness than a godless eloquence. Many there are who build the walls of a church, and raise up its columns; our church-roofs are glittering with gold, the altar blazes with jewels, and all the while there is no due selection made of her Priests. Let us not be dazzled with splendour. Christ has chosen the poor. If we think of His Cross, we shall deem

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money mud. Do not frequent the banquets of those who are puffed up with worldly pride. It is an unseemly thing for a Priest of Christ crucified to have as clients at his gate the lictors of consuls and military officers, and for the Judge of a Province to be regaled more sumptuously by a Priest than by a Prince.[2] If you allege that you do this to intercede with him for the poor, believe me, a secular Judge will pay more respect to a self-denying Clergyman than to one who is rich, and will honour his sanctity more than his money. Avoid wine and whatever intoxicates. Not that I condemn God's creatures; our Lord was called a wine-bibber (Matt. xi. 19), and St. Paul advises Timothy to use a little wine for his stomach's sake (1 Tim. v. 23). We must have regard to age and health. If I am glowing with the fervour of youth, I will abstain from wine. But be not excessive in fasting. Let your fasts be pure, chaste, simple, and moderate, not superstitious. What is the use of abstaining from oil, and of compromising the matter with other delicate viands? Some will not even taste bread, or drink water, and yet regale themselves with exquisitely cooked vegetables, and practise fasting by feasting. Miserable superstition; and yet some of us do not blush at it. Do not fish for flattery. The soldier of Christ marches straight on; and is neither elated by praise, nor depressed by blame. The sun does not burn him by day, nor the moon by night (Ps. cxxi. 6). Do not have a prurient tongue, nor itching ears; do not calumniate others, nor listen to those who do. No one whispers slander into an unwilling ear. An

[2] Was Jerome thinking of the splendours of the court of the Bishop of Rome, which Ammianus Marcellinus describes? See above, p. 88.

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arrow does not stick in a stone. Let the slanderer learn not to calumniate, by seeing that you do not lend a willing ear to his calumny. There is a slander of the ear as well as of the tongue.

"It is your duty to visit the sick, to know the houses of matrons, and their children, and to keep the secrets of nobles. It is your duty to keep your tongue chaste, as well as your eye. Don't talk of the beauty of women. Let no family know through you what another family is doing. The great physician Hippocrates imposed silence on his scholars. How much more ought we to be reserved, who are physicians of souls, and who are bound to love every household as our own.

"They who entangle themselves with the temptations of worldly estates cannot be true clergymen. They are tempted to deal dishonestly with the goods of the Church, and with alms for the poor. To defraud a friend is theft; to defraud the Church is sacrilege. To rob the poor is the worst piracy.

"Dearest Nepotian, you have forced me, whose Epistle to Eustochium was assailed with abuse ten years ago at Rome, to open my mouth to you from Bethlehem, and to expose myself to like treatment now. But I implore them to forbear. I have not written to them as adversaries, but as friends. I know well the beam in my own eye, and I do not wish first to take the mote out of their eye. I know my faults, and am a severe judge of myself. I do not here censure any one. My warfare is not against men, but against sins."

The young Priest, Nepotianus, to whom this letter was addressed, did not live long after he had received

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it; and Jerome wrote to console his uncle Heliodorus, Bishop of Altinum, on his death.[3]

"Nepotian—mine, thine, ours, Christ's—has left us who are old men; and we have to do for him what he ought to have done for us—to mourn. But why mourn? The Apostle forbids it (1 Thess. iv. 13). Even heathens could resign their children with patience and joy. Pericles, Xenophon, L. Paullus, and many others are examples to us. But how far do our consolations exceed theirs." He then dilates on the happiness of Nepotian, who had fallen asleep in Christ. "Do not mourn that you have lost him, but rejoice rather that you have had him. Comfort yourself with remembering his virtues. He was the Timothy of our times. He was young, and had the grey-haired wisdom of the old. He deemed the Priesthood to be a weight of duty, rather than an ornament of honour, and disarmed envy by humility. He relieved the poor, visited the sick, rejoiced with those who did rejoice, and wept with those who wept. He was a staff to the blind, food to the hungry, hope to the miserable, comfort to the mourner. He was eminent in special virtues, as if he did not possess the rest. Among his brother Priests he was first in work, last in rank. And whatever good he did he ascribed it to his uncle the Bishop.[4] If any plan miscarried, he took all the blame on himself. He joined clerical duties with monastic exercises; he was frequent and watchful in prayers and tears. He tempered his fasting by his bodily powers. His conversation was concerning Holy Scripture, and he consulted others upon it. With ingenuous modesty,

[3] Epist. 35, p. 266.

[4] I.e. to Heliodorus, Bishop of Altinum, to whom Jerome is writing.

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which adorned his youth, he claimed nothing for himself; and though he was deeply learned, he declined all show of erudition. 'This I learnt,' he used to say, 'from reading Tertullian, that I learnt from Cyprian, that I got from Lactantius, that from Hilary, that from Minutius Felix, that from Victorinus, that from Arnobius;' and sometimes—because he loved me for his uncle's sake—he mixed my name with theirs. And thus, by constant reading of good books, and by religious meditation, he had made his heart a library of Christ."[5]

Jerome speaks also of Nepotian's care for the house of God; for its cleanliness and beauty; for its altar, its pavement, its walls, its sacrarium, its sacred vessels; the pains he took that the curtains of the church might be hung before the entrance, and the porter watch at the door. He decorated it also with flowers and foliage and vine-leaves. He describes also his youthful beauty, and the dignity of his person. But a fever came and blighted this fair promise. Nepotian "lay on his sick-bed; his friends around him wept, but he smiled; he had visions of heaven and heavenly things, and stretched out his hand to those who came to fetch him thither; so that he seemed not to die, but to migrate to another land, and to change the company of some friends for that of others. He clasped his uncle's hand, and said, 'This tunic which I used in ministering to Christ, send to my dearest friend, who is my father in age[6] and my brother in the Priesthood.' And thus he fell asleep, with his uncle's hand locked in his own, and my memory in his heart. The earth has received his

[5] P. 271, "Pectus suum fecerat bibliothecam Christi."

[6] I.e. to Jerome himself.

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body; his soul has returned to Christ. Thy successor has preceded thee; all judged him worthy of thy place; and thus a double Episcopate has, as it were, proceeded from thy house."

Jerome closes his letter by saying that Nepotian has been taken away from present evils and from evils to come; in which words he refers to the storm of calamities which had broken upon the Roman Empire and Church. He recounts the deaths of Roman Emperors suddenly cut off—Constantius, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian the Second; to say nothing of the usurpers Procopius, Maximus, and Eugenius.

"I shrink from contemplating the miseries of the time. For twenty years and more, Roman blood has flowed daily between Constantinople and the Julian Alps. Barbarian hordes of Goths, Sarmatians, Quadi, Alani, Huns, Vandals, Marcomans, are wasting Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessalonica, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia. How many matrons, how many virgins of God, how many of gentle and noble blood have been outraged by them. Bishops captured, Priests and other Clergy slain, Churches ruined, horses stabled at Christ's altars, remains of Martyrs dug up; mourning everywhere, and "many forms of death."[7] The Roman World is tottering, and our proud neck is not bowed by God's judgments. The barbarians are lords of Greece,

[7] Jerome enlarges on this subject, and draws a dark picture of the contemporary miseries of the Roman Empire in another Epistle, written A.D. 409, the year before its capture by the Goths, and, as the reader of Virgil will observe, applies his words on the sacking of Troy to the desolation of that Empire. Epist. 91, ad Ageruchiam, p. 748. See below, chap. xi.

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which faints with fear. The Eastern World appeared to be exempt; but last year it was overwhelmed by a flood of desolation.

"Happy is Nepotian, who now does not see these sights of woe. We who survive are to be wept for. God is offended with us, and we do not appease Him. The barbarians are strong by our sins. If we desire to rise up again, let us first bow down in prayer. Joshua conquered Amalek in the plain by means of the prayers of Moses on the hill.[8] If we do not cast away our sins which are the causes of our disease, the disease will never be healed; but if we do, then we shall soon see this rout of barbarians fleeing before the arms of Rome. But I have said too much; let us remember our own mortality. While I am dictating these words to my secretary, my life is ebbing away. We die daily. Our only true gain is to be united in the love of Christ, which never dies, but ever lives in the heart; and therefore Nepotian, though absent in body, is present with us in spirit. Let us cherish him in our minds. We cannot talk with him; let us never cease to speak of him with joy."

Paula and her daughter Eustochium at Bethlehem invited other Roman ladies to join them. Among these was Marcella. In their letter[9] to her is an interesting description of the "Cave of the Nativity." "Here the Creator of the heavens was born; here He was wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and was visited by

[8] Exod. xvii. 8—16.

[9] Epist. 44, p. 551. Cp. p. 564 for an account of the temple of Venus and Adonis, which had stood there from Hadrian's days to those of Constantine.

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the Shepherds, and was worshipped by the Wise men. Leave therefore the Roman Babylon described by St. John in the Apocalypse, and come to Bethlehem. Here in our fields the peasant, as he holds the plough, sings 'Alleluia,' and the reaper and the vine-dresser chant Psalms of David."

The two Roman ladies at Bethlehem, Paula and Eustochium, proceed to describe the delight they anticipate from a tour with Marcella in Palestine.[1]

Jerome, who had exhorted Eustochium to continue in her virgin estate, was no less desirous that Christian Widows should remain in Widowhood. His letter to Furia,[2] the daughter-in-law of the celebrated Roman Consul Probus, describes the duties and privileges of that spiritual condition. His two letters to Paullinus,[3] who had been a friend of the poet Ausonius, and a distinguished orator and senator, but renounced the wealth and honours of the world with his wife Therasia, and became a Priest, and afterwards Bishop of Nola,[4] are a portraiture of a Christian Student and Divine.

Jerome modestly disavows all pretensions to exhort or instruct Paullinus. He writes as a friend to a friend.

"Do not suppose that I make claim to holiness because I am in the Holy Land. Not to be at Jerusalem, but to be holy at Jerusalem, is what is needed; and after all, the Jerusalem which is above is our home. Gideon's fleece,[5] the Jewish nation, is now dry; the threshing-floor of the whole World is refreshed

[1] P. 551.

[2] Epist. 47, p. 554. He wrote a similar letter to Salvina, A.D. 400, Epist. 85, p. 663, and to Ageruchia, Epist. 95, p. 742.

[3] Epist. 49, p. 563.

[4] See above, pp. 91, 143.

[5] See on Judg. vi. 37—39.

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with spiritual dews. These holy places of Christ's Cross and Resurrection profit only those who take up their cross, and rise up daily from sin to new life. It is the same distance from Britain to heaven as it is from Jerusalem."[6]

He then describes the mixed character of the population of Jerusalem at that time. He exhorts Paullinus and Therasia his wife (with whom he lived as a sister) to continue in their purpose of spiritual life, in reading of the Scripture, in prayer and watchfulness, and almsgiving. What is the use of splendid Churches, when Christ is starved in the persons of His poor?

"I have read your eloquent oration on the Emperor Theodosius. In it you, who surpass others, have surpassed yourself. I congratulate the Emperor on being lauded by such an orator. But I long to see you exchanging Helicon for Sinai, and dedicating your talents to sacred studies. You might equal and even eclipse our most famous divines. Tertullian is sententious, but obscure. Cyprian is copious, clear, and hortatory, but being harassed by persecutions, had no time to expound Scripture. Lactantius was a Christian Cicero, but more successful in refuting heathen error than in asserting the truth in Christ. Arnobius is unequal, turgid, and confused. S. Hilary marches grandly in his Gallic buskin, and his style is adorned with flowers culled from Greece, but it is involved, and not adapted to simple folks. I do not mention others, of whom posterity will judge.

"May you be a noble patrician in the Church, as you were once in the Senate. Lay up now a treasure of sacred wisdom while you have strength and have only a few grey hairs. Nothing that is not pre-

[6] Compare above, Gregory Nyssen's words, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262.

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eminent is expected of you. Salute your fellow-servant in Christ" (Therasia his wife).

In his second letter to Paullinus he describes the duty of the Christian Priest to be thoroughly versed in the Holy Scriptures. "'The Priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth.'[7] Holy ignorance may profit the Church by sanctity of life, but it injures the Church by want of power to refute error, which would destroy the Church. Daniel says that the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament."[8]

Jerome then goes through the books of the Holy Scripture, and gives a brief summary of them. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, with the spiritual senses of its sacrifices, which typify heavenly mysteries; Numbers, and its forty-two stations in the Wilderness on which he wrote a separate treatise,[9] showing their spiritual significance, as suggested by St. Paul's words, "all these things happened to them as types of us" (1 Cor. x. 11); Deuteronomy, the prelude of the Gospel—all these are passed in rapid review. "How many mysteries are there in the book of Job. To say nothing else, he foretells the Resurrection of the body with the clearness of an Evangelist" (Job xix. 25, 26).

"Joshua is a figure of Jesus in name and deeds. He crosses Jordan, overthrows the enemies of Israel, and distributes the land to its tribes, and thus foreshadows the work of Christ in the Church. The Judges also have a figurative significance. Ruth is a type of the

[7] Mal. ii. 7. [8] Dan. xii. 3.

[9] Ad Fabiolam de XLII. Mansionibus, tom. ii. p. 586. May I be permitted to record my obligations to that letter and to other letters of Jerome, in writing my commentary on the Old Testament?

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Gentile Church coming to Christ. The book of Samuel, in the death of Saul and in the succession of David, foreshadows the passing away of the Old Law to make way for the Gospel and the Church. In the Kings and Chronicles you may contemplate the conflicts of the People of God with their spiritual foes.

The twelve Minor Prophets form one book, but each of the twelve has a special spiritual meaning."

A specimen of Jerome's exposition may suffice here. "Jonah, whose name signifies *dove*, foreshadowed, by his being cast into the sea, the passion of Christ; and by his emersion from it, the subsequent call of the world, which was prefigured by Nineveh's repentance; and the message of peace to the Gentiles. Who can worthily expound the Greater Prophets?[1] Isaiah is an Evangelist. Daniel is the World's historian; he foretells the overthrow of all earthly Kingdoms by the Stone cut out without hands, which is Christ. David is more than our Pindar, Alcæus, and Horace; he sings of Christ's Death, Burial, and Resurrection. Solomon, the 'Peaceable,' the 'Jedidiah,' or 'beloved of the Lord,' is our teacher of ethics (in the Proverbs), and our teacher of nature (in Ecclesiastes), and joins Christ and the Church in mystical wedlock in the Canticles, and sings a joyful bridal song in it.

"Esther is a figure of the Church, delivering her people from their ghostly enemy, typified in Haman. Ezra, 'the Helper' (such is the meaning of his name),

[1] The reader may bear in mind that Jerome himself has developed these thoughts in his own Commentary on the Minor and Major Prophets, which, with the similar work of S. Cyril of Alexandria, will supply almost all that is desired in that respect. Let me here also acknowledge my obligations to Jerome and Cyril in my Commentary on the Prophetical Books.

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and Nehemiah, 'the Consoler,' rebuild the Temple and the Walls of Jerusalem for the people returning from the Babylonish captivity, and foreshadow spiritual works in the Church.

"Let me glance at the New Testament. The four Evangelists are the Chariot (Quadriga) of the Lord; they are the true Cherubim on which He is enthroned and rides.[2] They are full of eyes; fire sparkles and lightnings flash forth from them; they have wings entwined with wings, and wheels within wheels. They are four, and are one, and they go whithersoever the Spirit carries them.

"I cannot speak as I would of St. Paul. In the Acts of the Apostles we have the history of the primitive Church, and receive spiritual medicine from the 'beloved physician' St. Luke, 'whose praise is in the Gospel.' The Apostles, James, Peter, John, and Jude, wrote seven Epistles, short in words, but long in meaning.[3] The Apocalypse of St. John has as many mysteries as words. Its value is beyond all praise.

"My dearest brother, let us learn to live among these writings, to meditate upon them, and to know nothing, to seek for nothing, beyond them. Dwelling with them, we dwell in the Kingdom of heaven."

In an Epistle to his friend Lucinius,[4] a Spaniard —whom he invites with his wife to Palestine—he describes his life at Bethlehem, which was much frequented by pilgrims and other strangers. Lucinius had sent six transcribers[5] to make copies of Jerome's

[2] As described by Ezekiel, i. 4—28; x. 8—21. Compare Rev. iv. 6—8.

[3] S. Jerome here acknowledges James the Less and Jude to be Apostles, and Peter as the author of *Two* Epistles.

[4] Epist. 52, p. 576.

[5] Cp. p. 581.

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writings; an incident which shows how books were then circulated. Jerome wished to revise the copies, but was interrupted by visitors. He mentions the writings of Papias and Polycarp as then extant; and describes his own labours on the text of the Old and New Testament, and his Versions of both.[6]

Lucinius consulted him as to fasting on Saturday and daily communion, which were practised at Rome.[7] "Hippolytus,[8] a most eloquent man (says Jerome), has written on these topics. But let me give you this advice. Traditions of the Churches, which are not contrariant to the faith, are to be observed as handed down to us by our forefathers. Nor are the practices of some Churches to be superseded by the practices of others. Let each province of the Church be fully persuaded in its own mind,[9] and let it regard the injunctions of its forefathers as Apostolical laws."

In the next letter Jerome consoles the widow of the same Lucinius. In this Epistle he highly praises Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons and Martyr, especially his books against heresies.[1] He lauds her husband for his munificence in almsgiving to the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem, and for his love of Holy Scripture; and comforts her with the memory of his virtues.

The following Epistle[2] is to a young nobleman, the son-in-law of Paula, the descendant of Consuls, Pammachius,[3] who after her death distributed his wealth in alms to the poor, and adopted a monastic life :—

[6] P. 579.
[7] See below, chap. xv.
[8] Bishop of Portus Romanus. See above, vol. i. pp. 285—292, 302—305.
[9] "Abundet in sensu suo." Rom. xiv. 5. Vulg.
[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 213—231.
[2] Epist. 54, p. 582.
[3] See above, p. 202 and note.

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"I hear that you have founded an Institution for the reception of strangers[4] (*Xenodochium*) in the Harbour of Rome[5] (near Ostia), and have built a Bethlehem (or house of bread) on the banks of the Tiber, and have planted a slip from the tree of Abraham on the shores of Italy. Abraham received Angels unawares; he received God Himself. You imitate him. Give yourself a sacrifice to Christ.

"Here at Bethlehem we have built a Monastery, and a hostel for lodging strangers; and we are overwhelmed with crowds fleeing to us from all quarters for refuge, so that I have been forced to send Paulinianus (my brother) to my own native place to sell our half-ruined homesteads, which have escaped the hands of the barbarians, and to part with our common patrimony in order to defray the expenses of the work, that we may be able to receive them."

In the following letter (Ep. 55) he comforts a blind friend with visions of spiritual blessings and future glory.

He writes next[6] to Læta, daughter of the noble and learned Albinus, still a heathen, and wife of Toxotius, the son of Paula, on the education of her daughter. He describes the condition of Rome at that time, and the fading away of Paganism there. "The Golden Capitol is now squalid, and cobwebs are hanging in all the temples of Rome. The gods of the Gentiles are being cast to the bats and owls (Isa. ii. 20). The City is stirred from its foundations, and the people run past the half-ruined fanes of heathenism to the tombs of Christian Martyrs."

[4] The first Hospital was built by Fabiola, Epist. 84, p. 660.

[5] "Portus Romanus;" on which see above, vol. i. p. 285.

[6] Epist. 57, p. 590. He wrote another letter on the same subject in A.D. 415, Epist. 98 ad Gaudentium.

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"But I must turn from these matters to your child. She was devoted by you to Christ before she was conceived in the womb. She is now to be educated by you. Let her learn to hear nothing, to say nothing which does not tend to the fear of God. Let her have letters made of boxwood or ivory, and learn in play, and sing their names and order. When her trembling hand has begun to make letters on the waxen tablet, let it be guided by another, and do not scold her if she is slow, but encourage her, and let her have companions in study to stimulate her. Do not let her hate her studies. Let her learn the names of Prophets and Apostles. Do not despise small things. Great things cannot exist without them. Let her imitate Christ, Who began with being about His Father's business. Let her begin with God in the Temple. Let her learn to abstain from wine; but in tender years caution is needed. Do not enforce too much abstinence, which may be dangerous.

"Let her say to you a daily lesson from Scripture. Let her learn Greek before Latin. Be you her governess. Be you her example. Let her not see anything in you, or in her father, which it would be a sin for her to imitate. Let her never go out without you; not to the Basilicas of the Martyrs, nor to Churches. Let her observe the fasts and vigils of the Church. Let her love all her attendants, and not have any favourites. Let a grave and devout matron have the charge of her to train her in faith and modesty, and teach her to rise by night to say her prayers and psalms, and to sing hymns at dawn, and to keep the canonical hours, terce, sext, and nones, and to offer the evening sacrifice of devotion when the lamp is lit. Let reading be joined with prayer.

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"Let her learn wool-work and spinning; and be content with simple and modest dress. Let her meals be such that she may be able to rise from them to devotion. But I do not advise long and immoderate fasts, especially for young people. I have learnt by experience that when an ass is weary it must have a halting-place.

"If you go into the country, do not leave your child behind you in company with bad girls or servants. Let her not go to the public baths. Instead of jewels and silks, let her love Manuscripts of Holy Scripture, not illuminated with pictures, but carefully revised and amended. Let her begin with learning the Psalms, and be trained by the Proverbs. Let Ecclesiastes teach her to despise earthly things. Let Job school her in patience. Let her pass on to the Gospels, and never cease to study them. Let her imbibe the words of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Epistles with delight. Let her commit the Prophets to memory, and the historical books. Let her at last come to the Canticles, but let her read it as a bridal song of spiritual nuptials; and let her shun all apocryphal writings.[7]

"If you cannot do all this yourself in your busy life at Rome, and will send your child to her grandmother Paula and to her aunt Eustochium here at Bethlehem (as Samuel was left by his mother at Shiloh), they will rejoice to take charge of her, and I will receive her with delight, and train her for the kingdom of heaven."

Jerome's correspondence with Augustine (which was carried on at intervals between A.D. 395 and 405,

[7] On the meaning of Apocrypha as here used, see above, vol. ii. 204.

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and is contained in Epistles 69, 71, 74, 75 of Jerome, and Epistles 28, 40, and 82 of Augustine) concerned the rebuke of St. Peter by St. Paul at Antioch, as related in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians (Gal. ii. 11—14). It showed the character of both, and, in the end, was honourable to both.

On the one side was the aged presbyter Jerome, the sedentary student in his cell at Bethlehem; on the other, Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, the stirring and active spirit in Councils of Bishops, and in Conferences with Donatist schismatics and Pelagian heretics, and in Diocesan Visitations. Each was consulted as an oracle of piety and wisdom by inquirers from all parts of Christendom: the one superior in age and learning and rhetoric, the other in wisdom and logic; the one swayed by sudden impulses, and sometimes hasty in forming an opinion, and eager and contemptuous in defending it, but generous in acknowledging his own mistakes and the superior merit of others; the other dispassionate and calm, and discerning clearly between what was sound and true in principle from what was vicious and erroneous, and foreseeing no less clearly the results of both; and therefore uncompromising in controversy, not from desire of victory, but from love of Truth. The difference also between the active and speculative life, and the relative value of both, in forming greatness and usefulness in various ways in the work of Christ and the Church, is manifested by this controversy, and by other characteristics of the history of these two great Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

The occasion of this Correspondence was as follows. Jerome in his commentary on the Epistle to the

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Galatians had endeavoured to obviate the objection of the infidel Porphyry, who had pointed with scorn to the dispute of St. Paul and St. Peter, described in the second chapter of that Epistle, as an argument against Christianity. If, said Porphyry, the two leading Preachers of Christianity, claiming to be a religion of truth and love, could not agree upon a fundamental doctrine of that religion, but contended passionately and publicly against one another upon it at Antioch, can Christianity be true?

Jerome's reply in his Commentary to this objection was, that St. Paul and St. Peter *did not differ;* that the disagreement was merely a feint and a compromise; that *Peter* did what he did to conciliate the *Jews*, by conforming to the ceremonial law; that *Paul* acted as he did, in *not* conforming to that law, to please the *Gentile* converts; and that Paul could not have been angry with St. Peter, inasmuch as he himself had conformed to that law by circumcising Timothy, and by shaving his head at Cenchreæ. Jerome also appealed to other Commentators on the Epistle to the Galatians, who had given the same interpretation of this passage.

Augustine protested against it. It countenanced, he said, the vicious theory of pious frauds, and lies of policy (against which he wrote an excellent treatise[8]), and it also encouraged the doctrine that evil may be done in order that good may come, which St. Paul condemns (Rom. iii. 8).

Next, it overthrew the foundations of Christianity,

[8] De Mendacio ad Consentium; see c. 26, vol. vi. p. 778. This question as to the dispute of St. Paul and St. Peter has been admirably treated by Bishop Sanderson in his Lectures on Conscience, Lect. iii. vol. iv. p. 45.

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which is built on a belief in the Truth and Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Holy Scripture had plainly asserted in that second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, that Peter "had not walked uprightly" in this matter (Gal. ii. 14), and that he was "to be blamed" (or condemned, ii. 11), and that therefore Paul rebuked him, and "withstood him to the face." Clear therefore it was that Peter erred. If not, Scripture erred, which says that he erred; and if we allow that Scripture erred, where are we to stop? Christianity is founded on Scripture; and if Scripture is wrong, our foundation is gone. Augustine's words are memorable: "It is a most pernicious doctrine to say that there is any falsehood in that holy book.[9] If Peter was not wrong, and if Paul was wrong when he said in a book of Holy Scripture (the Epistle to the Galatians) that Peter was wrong, then the whole authority of Scripture, on which our faith is built, totters and falls.[1] I declare to you[2] that the Holy Scriptures, which are called Canonical, are the only books in the world, to which I have learnt to pay such honour and reverence, that I most firmly believe that none of their Authors has committed any error therein. Other Authors are read by me with the persuasion, that, however they may excel in holiness and learning, what they write is not true because they write it, but because they can prove it to be true either by Scripture or Reason. And you, I suppose, agree with me in this opinion."

The question was *not*, what Paul or Peter *did as men*, but what they *wrote* in *Scripture*. Apostles might err in practice, but Augustine held that there is no error in what they *wrote* under inspiration of the Holy Ghost,

[9] Epist. 28. [1] Epist. 40. [2] Epist. 82.

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and which *has been received as Scripture by the Church*, to which Christ promised His perpetual presence, and that of the Holy Ghost, "to teach her all things, and to guide her into all truth."

As to Jerome's assertion that Paul himself did, what Peter did at Antioch, this Augustine denies. St. Peter erred at Antioch, not in communicating with the Jews, but in refusing to communicate with the Gentiles, *unless* they conformed to the Ceremonial Law, and in thus *imposing* that Law upon them as a *term of communion.* This Paul never did. He shaved his head at Cenchreæ, and conformed to the Levitical Law at Jerusalem on the suggestion of St. James, and he circumcised Timothy at Lystra, not *as things of necessity*, but in a spirit of Christian condescension and in charity; but he strenuously *refused* to circumcise Titus, when some would have imposed circumcision upon him as a term of communion (Gal. ii. 3, 4). His only term of communion was *faith in Christ* and His Blood (Gal. ii. 16). This was his ground of Justification. This is the foundation of the Church. And to impose obedience to the Levitical Law was to evacuate the saving efficacy of Christ's Blood, and destroy the foundation of the Church. He therefore withstood Peter to the face, and openly rebuked him for doing this. St. Peter himself, being corrected by St. Paul, afterwards renounced his error, and praised Paul (2 Pet. iii. 15). "Thus" (says Augustine) "we have two noble examples of Christian virtues in these two Apostles; a pattern of righteous freedom in St. Paul, and of holy humility in the other. And we may add that it is better to receive correction gladly, than to correct another boldly."[3]

[3] Epist. 82.

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As to Jerome's plea that other commentators had taken the same view as he did, Augustine replies by referring to Cyprian [4] and Ambrose,[5] who maintained that Peter was to be blamed in what he did, and was justly rebuked by St. Paul. "But" (adds Augustine) "St. Paul in Holy Scripture writes that Peter was 'to be blamed,' and 'walked not uprightly:' this is enough for me. I need no other Commentators. The Holy Ghost is my Expositor."

Eventually S. Jerome himself was convinced by S. Augustine's arguments, and in his treatise against the Pelagians [6] he frankly acknowledged that Peter was to be blamed in what he did at Antioch. Such was the generosity of spirit of the aged Presbyter at Bethlehem, that in an Epistle [7] written A.D. 419, the year before his death, he paid a tribute of affectionate veneration to his younger friend the Bishop of Hippo. "Would that I could fly to you on the wings of a dove, and salute you with a loving embrace. May Christ ever keep you and bless you, my lord and beloved and revered father in God."

This correspondence of Jerome and Augustine is of great value as shedding much light on the constitution, history, and doctrines of the Christian Church. The reader will therefore pardon some further reflections upon it.

I. St. Peter had been warned by a Vision and a Voice from Heaven, not *to regard any man as unclean* (Acts xi. 9): and he had also taken part in the Council of Jerusalem, in which it was decided that *no other burden* should be laid upon the Gentile converts, than that they *should abstain from meats offered to idols, and*

[4] Epist. 71.
[5] Epist. ad Galat.
[6] Adv. Pelag. i. 8. See above, p. 187.
[7] Epist. 81, p. 645.

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from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication (Acts xv. 29).

St. Peter, having been thus instructed, came down to Antioch, where he communicated, in the first instance, without scruple, with the *Gentile* converts. But certain *Jewish* Christians came down from Jerusalem to Antioch. These Jewish converts remonstrated with St. Peter for eating with the Gentiles; and their expostulations had too much effect upon him. He *withdrew himself from the Gentiles, fearing them of the Circumcision* (Gal. ii. 12), and even became a champion of their principles, and endeavoured to win proselytes to their party. As St. Paul expresses it, the other Jews *dissembled with him, insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away by their dissimulation.*

Happily for St. Peter, for St. Barnabas, for the Gentiles, for the Jews, and for the Church, there was another Apostle at Antioch, and that Apostle was St. Paul.

St. Paul did not take *counsel with flesh and blood* (Gal. i. 16). Peter was his friend, Barnabas was his friend, but, still more, Truth was his friend.

St. Paul had been ordained to the Apostleship at Antioch (see Acts xiii. 1—3). Mindful of the solemn trust then committed to him, and filled with the grace of the Holy Ghost then given him, and strong in the cause of God, he did not waver. Though he was forsaken by his friend and companion Barnabas, who had been ordained with him, and though he whom he resisted was one who had received a special blessing from Christ, and though he himself was almost alone, he stood up boldly at Antioch, the centre of Gentile Christianity, in the defence of Truth. The false brethren (he says) attempted to *bring us into bondage.*

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But to them we gave *place by subjection, no, not for an hour* (Gal. ii. 4, 5). And he describes his own conduct in these words: *I withstood Peter to the face because he was to be blamed. When I saw that they walked not uprightly, I said to Peter, before them all, Why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?* (Gal. ii. 11, 14.)

Thus he vindicated the cause of Christian Liberty, Christian Truth, and Christian Love. St. Paul, the "Hebrew of the Hebrews," the former Pharisee, stood forth as the advocate of the Gentiles, and rescued them from the bondage which the Jews would have imposed on them.

Thus also he delivered his brother Apostle St. Peter from the sin of making the observance of the ritual Law to be essential to the reception of the Gospel, and of propagating a Judaistic Christianity; or, in other words, he rescued him from the guilt of *enforcing unlawful terms of Church Communion.*

II. How did St. Peter receive the rebuke of St. Paul?

(1) St. Peter, in his first Epistle, written to the *Jewish Christians* in Pontus, *Galatia*, and other regions of Asia, adopted the words, which had been used by St. Paul in his Epistle to the *Gentile Christians* of *Galatia* (see v. 13), on that question which had been the occasion of altercation between himself and St. Paul. (See 1 Pet. ii. 16.) Thus St. Peter publicly declared his gratitude to St. Paul for his remonstrance, and he testified his perfect agreement with him.

(2) At the close of his second Epistle, written shortly before his death (2 Pet. i. 14), St. Peter speaks of St. Paul, and there calls him his *beloved brother*, and refers to his *Epistles*. *Even as our beloved brother*

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Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you (2 Pet. iii. 15). St. Peter proceeds to speak of those Epistles as *Scripture*, that is to say, St. Peter declares that St. Paul's Epistles were *inspired by the Holy Ghost;* and therefore he acknowledges that *whatever is affirmed* in them is *true.*

St. Paul in his Epistle to the *Galatians* had asserted that St. Peter was *condemned* (κατεγνωσμένος, ii. 11) in withdrawing himself from the Gentile converts at Antioch. Hence it follows that St. Peter erred. And St. Peter, in referring to that Epistle as *Scripture*, i.e. as the *Word of God*, frankly acknowledges himself to have erred. And it reflects no small honour on St. Peter that he has referred his readers to the Epistles of his *beloved brother Paul*, and has lauded the *wisdom* of him who censured him openly, and in whose Epistles the occasion of this censure, and the error which called it forth, are described without reserve.

III. Porphyry, who was brought up in the school of Origen, but afterwards apostatized to Heathenism, had pointed with scorn to the passage in the Epistle to the Galatians, as exhibiting two leading Apostles publicly contending with each other. "How could Peter and Paul," he exclaimed, "be Ambassadors of God, and Heralds of Peace, if they could not refrain, in the sight of Jews and Gentiles, from passionate altercation?"

If the Gospel of Christ had been a cunningly-devised fable, then a public contest between its two main champions would have greatly damaged it. But from that day it proceeded on its course more gloriously. The great principle of the *saving efficacy of Christ's death*, apart from the deeds of the *Levitical*

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Law, was established for ever by the holy wisdom and intrepid eloquence of St. Paul.

Christianity was also thus displayed to Jew and Gentile as the mother of moral virtues. It was the spirit of holy courage given by the Divine Comforter which emboldened St. Paul to rebuke St. Peter in the presence of the Jews. And it was the same Author and Giver of all spiritual gifts, Who endued St. Peter with patience to hear, with charity not to resent, and with wisdom to profit by the rebuke of St. Paul.

IV. This history also displayed the true origin, nature, and use of the Ceremonial Law.

It was a question of great difficulty, How that Law was to be treated by the Apostles?

If the Apostles, who were Jews by birth, had on their reception of the Gospel, suddenly snapped asunder all connexion with the Levitical ritual, if they had at once renounced all the ordinances of the Mosaic Law, they would have appeared to treat that Law as no better than a *heathen* system. Thus they would have seemed to place Christ in opposition to Moses, instead of displaying Moses in his true character, as the divinely-appointed Forerunner of Christ.

The evils of such a course have been well pointed out, in this correspondence with Jerome, by Augustine (Ep. 82), where the true view of the Ceremonial Law in its different stages is displayed by him,—

1. *Before* the Gospel, as *viva, sed non vivifica.*

2. *After* the Gospel, but before the destruction of the Temple, as *moribunda, sed non mortifera.*

3. After the destruction of the Temple and diffusion of the Gospel, as *mortua et mortifera.*

But if the *Apostles* had treated the Levitical ceremonies as *deadly*, they would have armed the Gentiles

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with hatred against Judaism, and would have riveted the Jews in their prejudices against Christianity. The Apostles would have been like Marcionites and Manichæans, instead of being preachers of the Same Everlasting Word Who spake first from Mount Sinai in the Law, and afterwards from Mount Sion in the Gospel.

Here then were dangers on the one side; there were no less perils on the other.

If, after the consummation of the Law in the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ, the Apostles had continued constantly and uniformly to observe the Rites of the Levitical Dispensation, and had *enjoined* them *as necessary* to be observed by the Gentile converts, they would have laid a heavy burden upon them, and have led those converts to imagine that there was a saving virtue in those Rites; they would have induced them to place confidence in them, and would have impaired the efficacy of the Cross of Christ.

Augustine shows in this correspondence that St. Paul steered between these two extremes. St. Paul gave public testimony to the Jews that he did *not condemn* the Ceremonial Law by circumcising Timothy, whose mother was a Jewess (Acts xvi. 1). He performed the vow of a Nazarite at Cenchreæ (Acts xviii. 18). He purified himself according to the Law at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 24, 26; xxiv. 18).

By complying thus far with the ordinances of the Ritual Law he showed his countrymen that he concurred with them in regarding it as of *Divine origin*.

But he had something else to teach them. They were now to learn, that, though the Ritual Law *was of*

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Divine origin, it was *not* of *perpetual obligation;* and that though it was *perfect* (as everything from God is) in its *tendencies*, it was *imperfect in itself;* and that it had now found its proper end in that to which it tended, and which *is perfect in itself.* Those Levitical tendencies were now evolving themselves into the spiritual fruits of the Gospel; and they were to be treated tenderly, not to be rudely shattered as unripe buds by a boisterous gale, but to be nurtured by the soft and vernal breezes of Christian love, till they should set and ripen in vigorous maturity on the sacred tree of the Church, now about to expand itself in majesty and beauty.

But St. Paul took good care that no one should mistake the foliage and flowers of the Law for the ripe fruit of the Gospel. He did *not censure* St. Peter for *observing Jewish* ceremonies in his own person, but he blamed him for *imposing those ceremonies*, as *terms of communion*, on others; for this he *withstood him to the face*, and by words and deeds asserted the truth. He *resisted* those who would have *compelled* Titus, a *Greek*, to be circumcised (Gal. ii. 3). He ate and drank with the Gentiles, who made no distinction between meats. He arraigned those who regarded circumcision as *necessary*. He charged them with vitiating the Gospel. *If ye be circumcised*, he said, that is, *if* ye be circumcised in the belief that Circumcision is necessary and efficacious to salvation, *then Christ shall profit you nothing* (Gal. v. 2). If ye *rely* on the *ritual ceremonies of the Law*, then ye deprive the sacrifice of Christ of its due honour; ye virtually deny that His sacrifice is *alone* meritorious and satisfactory to God, and is a plenary propitiation for the sins of the whole world. Ye rob yourselves, therefore, of

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pardon and grace; *for if Righteousness come by the Law, then Christ died in vain* (Gal. ii. 21).

This history, as explained by Augustine, is therefore a clear exhibition of the true nature of the Law as preparatory to the Gospel, and of the Gospel as the completion of the Law; and the Cross of Christ as the only cause of Justification with God.

V. The correspondence of Augustine with Jerome brings out also in clear view the difference between the Apostles in practice as men and as writers of Holy Scripture; and displays the judgment of Augustine, and others like him, on the inspiration and inerrancy of Canonical Scripture.

VI. This correspondence of Augustine with Jerome illustrates another important question. St. Paul says that St. Peter in withdrawing himself from the Gentiles at Antioch *walked not uprightly*, and that he was *condemned.*

This Epistle of St. Paul is part of *Canonical Scripture;* that is, it was *inspired* by the Holy Ghost. Whatever therefore is asserted in it, is *true.* It is *undeniable,* therefore, that St. Peter *erred.*

This error was in a matter of vital importance; it concerned the essence of Christianity.

The Holy Spirit, Who is infallible, speaking by the mouth of St. Paul in Canonical Scripture, affirms that St. Peter erred in a serious matter of faith and practice. He *imposed* upon Gentile converts *unwarrantable terms of Church communion.* Therefore *St. Peter* was *not infallible.*

On this account his brother Apostle, St. Paul, *resisted* him *openly.*

The Bishop of Rome professes to be the Successor of St. Peter. In virtue of this alleged succession, he

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affirms himself to *be infallible*. On the same ground he claims to be the Supreme Governor of the Church; and he asserts that he is irresponsible, that he can give laws to the world, and may not be resisted by any.

Let us grant, for argument's sake, that the Bishop of Rome is successor of St. Peter;

But St. Peter himself was not infallible. The Holy Ghost in Scripture says St. Peter was *condemned*, that he *walked not uprightly*.

Next, St. Peter was not irresponsible. He was openly resisted, and publicly rebuked by St. Paul.

St. Peter did not give laws to the Church. He did not claim *dominion over her faith* (2 Cor. i. 24). He did not act *as a Lord over God's heritage* (1 Pet. v. 3). But as a wise and charitable man, he listened to the reproof of his brother Apostle; he thanked him for his rebuke, and, almost with his dying breath, he referred to the Epistles of St. Paul, in which that rebuke is contained, and he acknowledged them to be Holy Scripture, inspired by the Holy Ghost (2 Pet. iii. 15, 16).

The mode in which St. Peter erred at Antioch was, as has been said above, by *imposing unjustifiable terms of communion*. Notwithstanding the warning and instruction given by this example of St. Peter, the Bishops of Rome have erred in the same manner, though in a far greater degree. They have invented articles of doctrine contrary to the Word of God; they have recently framed and promulgated two—that of the sinlessness, original and actual, of the Blessed Virgin; and the dogma of their own Infallibility—and they now require all men to accept those articles at their bidding, on pain of everlasting damnation.

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For a refutation of these assertions of the Roman Papacy, we need only refer to St. Paul's dispute with St. Peter, as expounded in S. Augustine's correspondence with S. Jerome.

Let us proceed to Jerome's other letters.

In one of his Epistles, written about A.D. 400,[8] there is a description of the institution and privileges of Baptism, which shows that he might have taken a place among the eloquent Preachers of the Church. It will repay careful perusal. "Time would fail me," he says at the close, "if I were to attempt to declare from Holy Scripture all that appertains to the virtue of Baptism, and to enumerate the mysteries of our new Birth in Christ."

The imaginative faculty with which Jerome was endowed was fed by study of heathen as well as Christian Authors. In the visionary fervour of youthful asceticism he had bidden farewell to classical Literature;[9] but he was wiser in his old age, and, in the liberal spirit of Origen [1] and Basil,[2] he appeals [3] to the example of St. Paul, quoting heathen Poets, Aratus, Menander, and Epimenides, and taking his text at Athens from a heathen Altar; and he says that the Apostle had learnt a lesson from David, severing the head of Goliath with his own sword, and had confuted Paganism from Paganism itself. "In the book of Deuteronomy we read [4] that if an Israelite [5]

[8] Epist. ad Oceanum, p. 650. It is evidently derived in part from Tertullian's treatise de Baptismo, on which see above, vol. i. p. 54.

[9] See above, p. 119.

[1] Above, vol. i. p. 275.

[2] Above, vol. ii. pp. 265—269.

[3] In Epist. 83, p. 654, to Magnus, an Orator of Rome.

[4] Deut. xxi. 10.

[5] Jerome adopted this illustration from Origen in Levit. Hom. 7.

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wished to marry a beautiful heathen captive, he was first to purify her by ceremonial rites; so if I, on account of its fair endowments, desire to raise Pagan Literature from the estate of a Captive to that of a Mother in Israel, shall I therefore be reproved, when the family of Christ on earth may be increased thereby?"

He refers to the examples of Christian[6] writers before him—first Greek writers, Quadratus, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Melito, Dionysius of Corinth, Tatian, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria—"the most learned of all"—and Origen, Hippolytus, Dionysius of Alexandria, Eusebius the historian, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Amphilochius; "all of whom so enriched their writings with the learning and thoughts of Philosophers, that you do not know which to admire more, their secular learning or their familiarity with Scripture." He next enumerates Latin writers who were distinguished in a similar manner—Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, Victorinus the Martyr, Hilary, and Juvencus.

Jerome's later years were saddened by the death of dear friends. His beloved Fabiola, to whom he had addressed some of his works,[7] was taken away about A.D. 400, and he wrote a brief sketch of her life.[8] He gives a description of public penance voluntarily done by this noble woman at the Lateran Basilica in Lent, and her munificent almsdeeds after it. "She was the first person who ever built a Hospital.[9] She there

[6] As Augustine does in a like argument de Doctrina Christ. ii. ad fin.

[7] "On the Forty-two Stations of the Israelites in the Wilderness."

[8] Ad Oceanum, Epist. 84.

[9] P. 660, "Prima omnium νοσοκομεῖον instituit." Jerome must mean

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nursed the sick, and dressed their wounds with her own hands. She came to Jerusalem and to us at Bethlehem, and devoted herself with intense fervour to the study of the Scriptures. The Huns were then threatening to overrun the East; Antioch was besieged. She returned to Rome. She there joined with Pammachius in building an asylum for the reception of strangers at Portus;[1] she bestowed all her worldly substance in alms, and fell asleep in Christ; and was buried with strains of 'Alleluia' sung in the church by a quire of young and old who followed her to the grave."

The severest loss of all was that of Paula in A.D. 404. Jerome wrote a consolatory Epistle to her daughter Eustochium,[2] in which he celebrated her noble lineage from the Scipios and the Gracchi, and even, it was said, from Agamemnon; he narrates her marriage with Toxotius, who traced his pedigree to Æneas; her wealth and splendour; her renunciation of the world after the death of her husband; her departure from Rome for the East. He relates her voyage to Cyprus; her reception there by the aged Bishop Epiphanius; her journey to Antioch, where she was entertained by the Bishop, Jerome's friend Paullinus, and where she was joined by Jerome; her landing at Sidon; and her tour through Cæsarea, Lydda, Joppa, Emmaus, Bethhoron, to Jerusalem; her rapturous ecstasy in visiting the Holy Places, Calvary, Sion, Bethlehem. Thence she went to Hebron, Eshcol, and the wilderness, where she had a view of the Dead Sea, and came back to the Mount of

first at Rome, or perhaps in Italy. Basil's hospital was probably prior in time to hers. See above, vol. i. p. 256.

[1] See Epist. 54; above, p. 217.

[2] Epist. 86, p. 670.

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Olives and Bethany, whence she made an excursion to Jericho, and afterwards to Mount Ephraim and Samaria; thence to Nazareth and Cana; and she ascended Mount Thabor, "where the Lord was transfigured." She also visited Egypt and the Monasteries of Nitria, and afterwards settled at Bethlehem.

The rule of the Monastery of Virgins which was there founded by her is described. All the Sisters knew the Psalms by heart, and studied the Scriptures daily; they observed the Canonical hours, Mattins, Terce, Sexts, Nones, Vespers, Midnight; they went forth to the common Church only on Sundays. Great attention was paid to the cleanliness of their dress, and to the gentleness of their manners and conversation. Paula was an example to them all, especially in self-denial and abstinence. She was well trained in theology, of which he gives a specimen in her refutation of certain heresies concerning the human body as it will be after the resurrection.[3] "She was swift to hear, slow to speak. She knew the Scriptures by heart; and constrained me to read through the Old and New Testament with her and her daughter. She desired to learn Hebrew, which I had studied from my youth with much labour and pains, and which I now study with unwearied toil; and she accomplished what she desired."

"In her last sickness she was tenderly nursed by her daughter, who never left her. When she felt death approaching, she repeated with a gentle murmur some verses of the Psalms, 'Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth' (Ps. xxvi. 8); and Ps. lxxxiv., 'O how amiable are Thy dwellings, Thou Lord of Hosts.

[3] Pp. 684, 685.

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My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord. I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness.' She was then silent, and I asked her whether she felt any pain; she answered in Greek that she had none, and that everything which she saw was calm and peaceful. She then closed her eyes, and repeated softly the same words; and having made the sign of the Cross on her lips, she breathed her last. Many Bishops, Priests, and Deacons came from Jerusalem and other cities to her burial. Monks and Virgins filled the Monastery and joined in the singing of Psalms. Her bier was borne on the shoulders of Bishops; others carried torches and wax tapers; others led the quires of chanters, and her body was laid in the middle of the cave of the Saviour's nativity. Widows and poor persons shared the garments she had given them. All the indigent said that they had lost a mother and a nurse. No change had come over her pale countenance; she looked like one who was not dead, but asleep. Psalms were chanted in Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Latin, not only for three days when her body was laid in the crypt under the Church, near the cave of the Nativity, but during the whole week.

"Let us not weep for her. O Eustochium, thou art enriched with a noble heritage. The Lord is thy lot; thy mother has been crowned with a long martyrdom. The service of a pure heart is a daily martyrdom. The crown of a Martyr is woven of roses and violets, hers is entwined with lilies.

"Farewell to thee, O Paula, and help my exhausted old age with thy prayers. Thy faith and works have now brought thee nearer to Christ, of Whom

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thou wilt be able to obtain thy petitions more readily."

"The holy and blessed Paula fell asleep on Jan. 26, at the third hour of Saturday, after sunset. She was buried on the 28th in the sixth consulship of Honorius, and of Aristænetus (A.D. 404). She lived five years in her holy purpose of Widowhood at Rome, and twenty at Bethlehem. She lived fifty-six years, eight months, and twenty-one days." Jerome wrote two inscriptions on her tomb in Latin hexameter verse.

Private griefs were followed by public sorrows. In A.D. 409, Jerome lamented the miserable condition of the Roman Empire, inundated by a deluge of barbarians from the north; and he foresaw the fall of Rome, which in the following year was captured by the Goths.

"The ship is splitting to pieces," he says, "and in the hour of the wreck we are quarrelling about its freight.[4] He 'who letted' (i.e. the Roman Empire[5]) is now being taken away, and yet we do not consider that Antichrist is at hand, whom the Lord will destroy with the breath of His mouth. What is safe, when Rome perishes? Tell me, my dearest daughter in Christ" (he is writing to a widow who was thinking of a second husband), "is this a time for marriage?"

The next letter[6] presents a picture of the confusion and loss of property consequent on those invasions.

Old age and experience tempered Jerome's fervid enthusiasm for the eremitical life, which he had

[4] Epist. 91, ad Ageruchiam, p. 748.

[5] So Jerome himself explains the text, 2 Thess. ii. 7, Qu. ad Algas. vol. iv. p. 209, and ad Hieremiam xxv. 26.

[6] Epist. 92, p. 750.

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eulogized in his juvenile Epistle to Heliodorus. In a letter to Rusticus,[7] a monk, he says, "If you are a monk indeed, you will not think of your worldly estate, but of your soul. Let your dark robe be a token of a snow-white mind; do not be proud of your humility. Let your fasts be moderate, lest they should produce debility, which may lead to a reaction of surfeiting and lust. Moderate and temperate fare is healthful to soul and body. Let your cell be a Paradise where you may gather the fruits of Scripture as in a spiritual Eden. Every one has his own likings. To me a city is a prison, and solitude a Paradise. If you desire to be a clergyman, first be a diligent learner, that you may be a wise teacher. Do not set up to be a soldier before you are a recruit, nor presume to be a teacher before you are a scholar. You ask whether you should live alone or in a Monastery with others. I advise you to dwell in the society of holy men. Pride often steals on us in solitude; and a man thinks himself of some importance when he has fasted a little while, and not set his eyes on a fellow-creature. Not that I reprehend a solitary life, but I wish that men should first be trained for it in humility and self-denial in a Monastery, and not be like some silly people who tell marvellous tales of visions of devils fighting against them, in order that they may be stared at by an illiterate multitude, and get money out of them.

"Learn the Psalms by heart. Pray continually. Tame your anger by patience. Love the knowledge of Scripture, and you will never love the works of the flesh. Never be idle. Weave baskets, hoe the ground, divide it into parterres. Plant vegetables and shrubs in rows; water the garden;" he then quotes

[7] Epist. 95, p. 770.

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"the very beautiful lines" (as he justly calls them) of Virgil's first Georgic, "Ecce supercilio," &c.[8] "Graft trees. Make beehives, and fishing-nets. Copy Manuscripts." In the Monasteries of Egypt no one was received who would not give himself to manual labour.

"When I was young, and was fenced in by the borders of the desert, I could not endure[9] my lustful desires and the fire of my nature, and tried to extinguish the flame by fasting, but still my mind burned with a fever of evil thoughts. In order to quench it, I gave myself up as a pupil to a converted Jew, to learn Hebrew, in order that after the "rivers of Cicero, and the gravity of Fronto, and the smooth flow of Pliny, I might practise its shrill and panting words. I toiled against the grain at Hebrew, and often despaired and began again; but I thank God that I persevered, and I now taste sweet fruits from a bitter seed."

Jerome bids him to be loyal and dutiful to the Head of his Monastery, as his father, and commends unity and obedience. "Irrational animals recognize this. Every hive has a queen bee. Cranes follow their leader. Rome could not bear two founders. Every Diocese has its Bishop; the whole Church is governed by its Rulers.[1] There is one pilot in a ship, one General in an army. This is the rule of a Monastery. Obey your spiritual father."

He then describes the manners of some monks who profess to have renounced the world, and yet are more

[8] Virgil, Georgic i. 108.

[9] See above, p. 117.

[1] If Jerome (who had been the Secretary of a Pope) had imagined that the Church was under *one* Visible Head and Universal Bishop at Rome, he could hardly have said this, or have omitted to say that the Church was subject to a Pope. Compare the remarks above, pp. 194, 195.

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rich and luxurious than before. Others who are poor, profess to be philosophers, and march with slow and stately gait—like trays borne in a triumphal procession [2]—to harangue the multitude. Others, croaking like jackdaws, walk with eyes fixed on the ground, and weigh big words in a balance, as if they were prefects of a city; others have become melancholy with damp cells and immoderate fasting, with wearisome loneliness and too much reading, and with muttering continually in their own ears, and they want a dose of physic rather than advice from me. Many turn religion into a trade, and traffic by their monkish cowl.

"Lead such a life in a Monastery as to deserve to become a Clergyman, and to go forth from your cell to the Altar of Christ, as a Virgin from her chamber to the Bridegroom. When you attain to mature age, and the Bishop has chosen you to be a Cleric, do what a cleric ought to do, and imitate the best among them. Don't be in a hurry to write. Don't believe those who flatter you. Do not calumniate or listen to those who do.[3] Don't be ashamed of being poor. Don't repine. In the miseries of the present times, and while swords are everywhere flashing around us, a man is rich enough who has bread. No one is more wealthy than a Priest who carries the Body of Christ in a basket of wicker, and His Blood in a vase of glass.

"Nudum Christum nudus sequere; durum, grande, difficile; sed magna sunt præmia."

After the taking of Rome by the Goths, Jerome

[2] "Pomparum ferculis similes procedunt," a sentence borrowed from Cicero de Officiis, i. 36, 37.

[3] Cp. above, p. 205, ad Nepot.

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wrote[4] to Principia, a pupil and companion of his dear friend Marcella, the noble widow and illustrious ornament of Christian Rome, who died a few days after that siege.

He gives a biographical sketch of Marcella. She was the first who, under the influence of the monastic brethren that had come from Egypt with Athanasius to Rome,[5] set the example of the religious life of noble women at Rome. Her house on the Aventine was, as already described, a seminary of Christian discipline for ladies,[6] a female college for study, and an oratory for meditation, reading of Scripture, and prayer. Her example produced the self-dedication of others, some of whom, as Paula and Eustochium, went forth from Rome to Palestine. By her means, as Jerome says, Rome became a Jerusalem.[7] "At that time," he adds, "a Heresy sprung up in the East, and communicated its venom to the West. Then a translation was made by Rufinus of Origen's work 'De Principiis.'[8] Then the holy Marcella, who had long restrained herself, publicly resisted the progress of the pestilence, when she found that the faith of the Church of Rome, which St. Paul had praised (Rom. i. 8), was in peril, and that the growing Origenistic heresy was infecting many, so that Priests and Monks accepted it; and it overreached the simpleness of the Bishop (Siricius), who measured other men by himself. But Marcella chose to please God rather than men. The heretics[9] asked for and obtained letters from the Church, so that when they quitted Rome they might appear to be in its

[4] A.D. 412, Epist. 96, p. 778.
[5] See vol. ii. p. 77.
[6] Epist. 48, p. 562.
[7] P. 781.
[8] See above, p. 178.
[9] I.e. Rufinus and his party. See above, pp. 172—179.

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communion. But soon the illustrious Anastasius succeeded to the Pontificate (A.D. 398).[1] Marcella was the moving spirit in the condemnation of that heresy; to her the victory was due."

"I pass on to the storm which broke over Rome (A.D. 410). The City was captured, which had led the world captive. Rome bought the lives of her own citizens with gold. The savage conquerors rushed into the house of Marcella. She received the soldiers with a calm countenance. She was scourged and beaten with clubs; it is said that she did not feel them. With tears and prayers she besought them not to separate you, Principia, from her, in order that your youthful years might not be exposed to indignities which she in her old age did not fear. Christ touched their heart. They took her and you to the Basilica of S. Peter, and there she joyfully broke forth in ejaculations of praise to God that you had been preserved unharmed. In a few days she fell asleep in the Lord, closing her eyes in your hands, and breathing out her soul with a kiss on your lips and amid your tears, with the conscience of a holy life, and with hope of future glory."

One of Jerome's last Epistles, that to Demetrias,[2] was on the same subject as that of his earliest, his letter to Eustochium, "De servandâ Virginitate." Here again his temper was softened by age. He could not indeed resist the temptation to describe with sarcastic satire the foibles of fashionable society—the rouge and white paint of the Roman ladies, their heads castellated with turrets of false hair,[3] their costly earrings,

[1] Pope Anastasius condemned the writings of Origen, A.D. 400 and A.D. 401. Coustant, Epist. Rom. Pont. 723. [2] Epist. 97, p. 784.
[3] "Alienis capillis turritum verticem struere," p. 789. See also

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their brilliant pearls, their sea-green emeralds and jacinths, coral, and flaming stones, and other jewels fished up by divers from the depths of the Red Sea. His Virgin friend Demetrias has renounced all these (he says); she has learnt to "live in the body as out of the body." But he warns her against immoderate fasting; and recommends to her the Aristotelian maxim, that "Virtue is the mean between two extremes," and the wise man's saying, "Ne quid nimis." "You ought not to fast so as to feel faint, but so that you may be able to join in the Psalms and reading of Scriptures. Fasting is not a perfect virtue, but a groundwork of virtue; holiness and modesty are steps upward to God, but they do not of themselves obtain a crown from Him. Remember the wise Virgins. Have the oil of good works in your lamp. Imitate Christ. Submit yourself to your mother and grandmother. Their precepts led you to desire Virginity, and trained you in the knowledge of Christ. Do not imagine that your gift of Virginity is your own; it is theirs, who by 'honourable marriage and by a bed undefiled' (Heb. xiii. 4) gave birth to you a Virgin flower, which will bring forth fruit if you humble yourself before God, Who resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble (James iv. 6). Wherever grace is, it is not a human work, but the gift of God; it is not the act of him who runneth (says the Apostle, Rom. ix. 16), but the free gift of God Who showeth mercy. To will, and not to will, is ours; but whatever is ours is only ours by the mercy of God."

p. 795, where he speaks of Virgins with low dresses, "pectus et colla denudantes; quæ utuntur pigmentis, astrictas habent manicas, vestimenta sine rugâ, soccosque crispantes, ut sub nomine virginali vendibilius pereant."

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The family of Demetrias was wealthy, and she was the heiress of its estates. He enlarges, therefore, on the blessings of Christian almsgiving. "Let others build Churches, and encrust their walls with marble, and gild the capitals of columns, and adorn the doors with ivory and silver, and decorate their golden altars with jewels. I do not disapprove this. No; but it will be for you to clothe Christ in His poor members, to visit Him in the sick, to feed Him in the hungry, to lodge Him in the homeless. This is my counsel to a Virgin who is rich and noble."

He then speaks of personal religion. "Portion out your day for prayer, for reading of the Scripture, for recreation and instruction of your mind, and for manual works in spinning, weaving, and wool-work.

"Although you devote all your wealth to the poor, yet no offering will be more pleasing to Christ than what you have worked with your own hands for your own use, or as an example to other Virgins, or as a gift to your grandmother or mother."

He guards her against heresy, especially the Origenistic errors, and tells her to follow the teaching of such Bishops of Rome as Anastasius, lately deceased, and of Innocent, his successor in the See. He discusses the question in relation to women, which he had considered in reference to men, in his letter to Rusticus,[4] whether the solitary or cœnobitic life was preferable.

"Many," he says, "prefer the former—the eremitical life—but it is dangerous for men; being separated from converse with men, they become a prey to their own impure and godless thoughts. I know many men and women who by too much abstinence, and by living in cold and damp cells, become crazy, and lose

[4] See above, pp. 239, 240.

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their reason, not knowing what to do or say, or not to say; and yet some of these are vainglorious and arrogant, and prefer to be teachers of fools rather than scholars of the wise. A Virgin who lives at home or in a monastery ought never to go out alone in public without her mother or superior."

He then refers to his work "De Virginitate servandâ," written to Eustochium thirty years before,[5] in which he felt it his duty (he says) to warn her against the temptations to which she was exposed. "This work," he adds, "gave great offence: however, those whom I described have now passed away; but the book remains; and I have written many other treatises to Virgins and Widows, and I need only refer to them now. I have only to add, that if any one chooses Virginity, let her do it with a chaste and pure mind; with entire love to Christ, in Whom all virtues are. But there are Virgins, who bring disgrace on the name; to whom I say plainly, Let them either marry if they cannot contain, or let them contain if they will not marry. And this I also say, Love thou the Scriptures, and Wisdom will love thee; love her, and she will preserve thee; honour her, and she will embrace thee. Let this be the necklace on thy breast, and the jewels in thine ears. Know nothing but Christ. Speak only of what is holy. Let thy mother and grandmother be thy examples of virtue."

In this letter is a saying which for the most part governed Jerome's life: "To be angry is human; but to cease from anger is Christian."

One of the last letters[6] in the chronological series

[5] See above, p. 132.

[6] Epist. 98, p. 796, A.D. 415, ad Gaudentium de Pacatulæ infantulæ educatione.

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to friends, is on the same subject as a former one —the education of a daughter[7]—and repeats much that was there said. It closes with a sketch of the state of society after the capture of Rome by the Goths five years before. He represents it as a strange medley of wretched despair, and of reckless luxury and prodigality.

"Alas! the World is falling upon our heads, but our sins stand erect.[8] Rome has been swallowed up by fire. There is no Country which does not now contain fugitives from that city. Churches are in ashes, but yet we are slaves of covetousness. We live as if we were to die to-morrow, and we build as if we were to live for ever. We erect splendid mansions, and Christ in His poor is starving at our gates. Your daughter is come into the world at a time such as this. She will become acquainted with tears before smiles. Let her thence learn how empty and uncertain all earthly things are. Let her care little for the past or for the present, and let her long and labour for Eternity."

Four years passed away, and S. Jerome was visited by another sorrow. On Dec. 28 in the year A.D. 418, his beloved Eustochium, who had succeeded her mother Paula in the management of the monastery of Virgins at Bethlehem, fell asleep in Christ. His last letter, already mentioned, is addressed to Augustine and his brother Bishop Alypius, who had written to inquire concerning his refutation of the Pelagian heresy in the

[7] That to Læta.

[8] He represents in another letter these calamities as due to men's sins and to God's merciful chastisement of them, and says, "God is most angry with sinners when He lets them alone." "Magna ira est quando peccantibus non irascitur Deus," p. 801.

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East. "I congratulate you," he says, "on the success of your own efforts to resist it, and I thank God for them. As for myself, I do not think that it is for me to continue the controversy. I am suffering too much from infirmities, and from the death of the holy and venerable Eustochium, your daughter in Christ." His last surviving utterances were words of fatherly affection for her, and of brotherly love and thankfulness to them. He died on Dec. 30, A.D. 320, after thirty-four years' sojourn at Bethlehem.

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CHAPTER X.

Jerome's labours on the Holy Scriptures.

IN the writings of Jerome, which have come under our notice, whether they were controversial works upon heresy, or familiar letters to friends, there is one distinguishing characteristic—his love for Holy Scripture, his diligent study and intimate knowledge of it, and his earnest commendation of it to others.

It was providentially ordered for the good of the Church, especially of the Western Church, and for its edification in the Divine Word, that Jerome, the most learned theologian of the West, and one of its most gifted writers, was not raised to the Roman Papacy—as some thought him worthy to be[1]—in succession to his friend and patron Damasus, whose secretary he was to the day of that Pope's death; and that he, who was of a temperament prone to impatience, and apt to be disturbed by controversy, was not involved in the active cares of Episcopal life, such as occupied the time, and distracted the mind, of Ambrose and Augustine, and that he was transferred to a calmer atmosphere. It was fortunate for Jerome and for the Church, that he retired from Rome and from the West, where he would not have had easy access to

[1] Above, p. 124.

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libraries, and where he would have had comparatively little help in the study of the original languages of the Old and New Testaments, and where even the Septuagint (the Greek Alexandrine Version of the Old Testament) was hardly known, except through the medium of Latin translations from it. It was a happy thing for the Church that his steps were turned to the East, and to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

This appears from the fact that his Translation of the Scriptures "remained for eight centuries[2] the bulwark of Western Christianity; and, as a monument of ancient linguistic power, his Translation of the Old Testament stands unrivalled and unique," and his "Version of the New is not only the most venerable, but also the most precious monument of Latin Christianity."[3] His Translation of the Bible was the source from which the Western Church for more than a thousand years drank the waters of life, and was the storehouse from which it fed on the Bread of life. May we not recognize it as a happy coincidence, that the Written Word went forth into the Western World from the same place as the Incarnate Word—the cave at Bethlehem Ephrata—the House of Bread, 'the fruitful'—where, as foretold by the Prophet (Micah v. 2), the Saviour of the World was born?

Jerome was the only person in Christendom who was qualified for the work which was performed by him for Holy Scripture. No one before him, and no one for a thousand years after him, was so competent for it as he was.

The time also was favourable, when by the exten-

[2] Words of Canon Westcott, in his Article (beyond all praise) on the Vulgate, in the Dictionary of the Bible, p. 1701.

[3] Ibid. p. 1715.

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sion of the Roman arms, and by the diffusion of the Latin language[4] among barbarous tribes who invaded and colonized Europe and Africa, an opening had been made for the general reception of a Latin Translation of God's Word.

The time was not only favourable, but critical. The Latin Church was distracted by a great diversity of Versions, many incorrect. There was a prevalent opinion that the Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament was inspired,[5] and the Western Church was content with translations of a translation. "It is not possible to count the number of Latin Versions," says Augustine;[6] "as soon as a man, who imagined himself to have some knowledge of Greek and Latin, met with a Greek Manuscript, he ventured to translate it into Latin." And Jerome says[7] that there were almost as many Versions as there were Manuscripts.

There was urgent need therefore of an uniform and accurate Version. The peaceful retirement at Bethlehem, near enough to Jerusalem and to other great towns of the East to profit by their Libraries and Literature, but far enough removed from them to be not disturbed by their dissensions, was well fitted for the work.

S. Jerome himself, in his list of Ecclesiastical Writers, describes that work as follows:[8] "I have restored the New Testament to the authentic Greek;

[4] Even in the Eastern Empire Latin seems to have been the legal language. The Theodosian Code is not in the language of Constantinople, but of Rome. Jerome's Vulgate was the parent of all vernacular versions of Western Europe, except the Gothic of Ulphilas.

[5] See Aug. de Doct. Christ. ii. 22, with the Benedictine note, and iv. 15.

[6] Aug. de Doct. Christ. ii. 15. [7] Præfat. ad Evangelia.

[8] Catal. Script. Eccl., written at Bethlehem, A.D. 392, p. 97, "Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi; Vetus juxta Hebraicam transtuli."

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I have translated the Old Testament according to the Hebrew Original." He also enumerates there his Commentaries on the Old and New Testament; those on the former were subsequent to the latter. Jerome commenced his work about A.D. 382, in the latter part of the pontificate of Damasus.[9] He began at Rome with a revision of the Latin Version of the New Testament from the Greek original. He bestowed much pains upon it. But he did not design to make a new Version, but to correct the old.[1] He spent the greatest pains on the Gospels.

The first book of the Old Testament which engaged his attention was the Psalter, with the help of the Septuagint; but this work, though adopted at Rome, and long retained there, and called the Roman Psalter, did not satisfy him, as indeed it could not; and when he had come to Bethlehem, he made a revision of the Latin Psalter, not only with the help of many Manuscripts of the principal Greek Versions, but of the Hebrew. This Version having been received by Gregory of Tours in Gaul in the sixth century, obtained the name of the *Gallican* Psalter, and is the basis of our own Prayer Book Version of the Psalms.

He afterwards (about A.D. 392) proceeded to translate the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew Original.[2] He began with the Books of Samuel and Kings, to which he prefixed a Prologue,[3] wherein he

[9] Damasus was Bishop of Rome from the Summer of A.D. 366 to Dec. 10, A.D. 384.

[1] "Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi." Cp. Epist. 52, p. 579, "Novum Testamentum Græcæ reddidi auctoritati."

[2] "Vetus juxta Hebraicam transtuli." See above, p. 25, and Epist. 53, p. 579, "Veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est."

[3] Called "Prologus Galeatus," as a helmet on the head of his work to defend it. See below, p. 255.

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defines what books belong properly to the *Canon* of the Old Testament, and distinguishes the *Canonical* Books from what are called *Apocryphal* or, more correctly, *Ecclesiastical*.[4] He continued to labour on the great work of translating the Old Testament from the Hebrew for about twelve years to A.D. 404.[5] This Version after some time obtained the name of the *Vulgate*—or *commonly received Version*[6]—and with the exception of the Psalms (in which the Gallican Psalter, as used for singing in Churches, kept its ground throughout) was accepted generally in the West in the eighth century; and in some parts of it, as in Gaul, as early as the fifth, and generally, except in Africa, by learned men, in the sixth. There is no other instance in the history of the Church where a Translation made of the Holy Scriptures by one man has been so generally received, by the common consent of the faithful, without any order or injunction of a Council of the Church, or of Royal Authority.

On April 8, 1546, the Council of Trent, in the second decree of its fourth Session, commanded that Jerome's Latin Vulgate should be accepted by all men as the *authentic* standard of Holy Scripture[7]—a proceeding which Jerome would not have approved. He refers to the Originals as the authentic standard, and says,[8] "As the text of the Books of the Old Testament is to

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 203.

[5] See his Preface to Joshua, which he addressed to Eustochium soon after the death of her mother Paula in that year.

[6] It was not, and could not be, called the *Vulgate* (or *commonly received Version*) in Jerome's time. The *Septuagint* was the original *Vulgate* of the Church (Jerome in Esaiam lxv. 20), and the *Old Latin* which was derived from the Septuagint was the primary *Latin Vulgate*.

[7] "Pro authenticâ habeatur, et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis præ textu audeat."

[8] Epist. 53, p. 579, ad Lucinium.

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be determined from the Hebrew, so that of the Books of the New is to be regulated by the Greek."

Jerome not only was enabled by God's grace and guidance to give the Holy Scriptures to the Western Church in an uniform and more accurate Version, but he had also the merit of teaching the Western Church *what Books* are to be called *Scripture.*

Augustine declared well and wisely that the Canon of the Written Word was determined by the authority of Christ, the Incarnate Word.[9] But Augustine was not in a condition to know *what* books of the Old Testament were acknowledged by Christ as Canonical. He was not acquainted with the Scriptures in Hebrew, and he did not know what Books the Hebrew Bible contained. These—and these alone—were recognized as Canonical by Christ.

Consequently he and his brother Bishops in Africa who were in the same condition, fell into error and confusion on this subject, and reckoned many books as belonging to the Canon of the Old Testament, which even on his own principles had no claim to a place in it.[1]

Melito, Bishop of Sardis in the second century, had indeed instructed the Eastern Church in this matter[2] by a personal visit to Palestine, and by ascertaining what books of the Old Testament were

[9] See the noble passage of Augustine de Civitate Dei, xi. 2, "He who is the Truth Itself, God, the Son of God, established and grounded our faith. He settled the Scriptures, which are called Canonical, of paramount authority, which we believe in all things that are needful for us to know."

[1] See Augustine de Doct. Christ. ii. 12 and 13, and Concil. Carth. Canon 47; Mansi, iii. 891; Bruns, p. 133, which reckon Tobit, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees in the Canon of the Old Testament.

[2] Euseb. iv. 26.

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received as Canonical by the Jews, to whom, as St. Paul says (Rom. iii. 3), "were committed the oracles of God," and with whom Christ Himself communicated in receiving as Canonical the same Books as they received and publicly read in their Synagogues as Canonical.

But Jerome was the first person in the West who settled this question. This he did in the Prologue which he prefixed to his Translation.[3]

Having specified by name all the Books contained in the *Hebrew* Bible which he was translating into Latin, he adds, "Whatsoever is outside these books is to be placed among the Apocrypha. Therefore the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, and Tobit are *not Canonical*."[4]

Similarly he says,[5] "The Church reads the Books of the Maccabees, Judith, and Tobit, but does not receive them among Canonical Scriptures; she reads them for the edification of her people, but does not use them for establishing any Ecclesiastical doctrine."

By his expository works on the Scriptures, especially by his Commentary on the Prophets, Jerome added to his claims on the gratitude of the Church.

[3] The Prologus Galeatus, tom. i. p. 318, ed. Benedict. Paris, 1693.

[4] "Non sunt in Canone."

[5] Prolog. in librum Salomonis, vol. i. p. 336. Cp. in Lib. Tobiæ, i. p. 1158. The Church of England derives her language on them in her Sixth Article from him: "The other Books" (the Apocrypha), "as *Hierome* saith, the Church doth read for example in life and instruction in manners, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine." The Church of Rome (by whom S. Jerome is called "doctor maximus" in Holy Scripture) anathematized (in the fourth Session of the Council of Trent) all who do not receive all the books, which he declared to be Apocryphal, as of equal authority with the Canonical Scripture. "Si quis libros ipsos integros pro sacris non receperit—anathema sit." Conc. Trid. Sess. iv.

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The Church of Christ justly venerates Jerome as raised up by the good Providence of God, which ever watches over His Written Word, to be a signal instrument in the divine hand for preserving, authenticating, and diffusing that Word among the nations of the West for more than a thousand years.

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CHAPTER XI.

Fall of Rome—Causes of; secular and religious consequences of: spread of Christianity among barbarian tribes—Foundation of Christian Kingdoms—Growth of the power of the Bishop of Rome.

THE writings of S. Jerome which have passed under our view are interspersed with frequent notices of the social and political condition of the Roman Empire at that time, and have prepared us for a consideration of the catastrophe which he foresaw and has described, the capture of Rome by Alaric and the Goths in the month of August, A.D. 410.

That event was regarded by him, and by many other thoughtful observers, who recognized in Almighty God the Arbiter of the destinies of nations, as a signal manifestation of His power and justice, and as a prelude of the future full and final visitation of the World. He describes their feelings and his own, when he says to Eustochium in his Commentary on the prophet Isaiah,[1] "I look forth from my lofty watch-tower, and contemplate, not without bitter sorrow, the storms and wrecks of the World below me, and I meditate not on present calamities only, but on future retribution; I am not engrossed with mere

[1] In Esaiam, cap. 50, p. 359.

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earthly rumours, but I tremble with the thought of the Universal Judgment of God."

The capture of Rome was attributed to different causes by different parties. The heathen—as we know from Augustine's work "on the City of God"—imputed it to the anger of their deities for the neglect of their worship, in consequence of the spread of Christianity. The Christian regarded it as a divine judgment inflicted for the sins of the Roman people, whether heathen or Christian.

Independently of any examination of these two opinions, the student of history will have seen the seeds of the disintegration of the Empire in causes apart from religion.[2] The transfer of civil power from the Roman Patricians and the People, and its concentration in the Emperor[3] (often the vassal of a corrupt favourite) as the irresponsible Legislator of the Empire, had enervated and degraded both. The Nobles were without incentives to virtue and courage, and without avenues to honourable distinction. The people were nursed in dependence, as pensioners of Patrons or of the State, and as recipients of paltry doles and donatives, and were corrupted and enfeebled by the luxury of public baths; and if their minds and passions were awakened at all from the lethargic slumber of a lazy serfdom, it was by the sensual stimulants of the Theatre, or the emulative acclamations of the Circus, or by the savage atro-

[2] See Gibbon, chaps. xxxi. and xxxviii. Conclusion.

[3] Gibbon, ibid., "The happiness of a hundred millions of human beings (i.e. the inhabitants of the Roman Empire) depended on the personal merit of one or two men (the Emperors), perhaps children whose minds were corrupted by education, luxury, and despotic power. The deepest wounds were inflicted on the Empire during the minorities of the sons and grandsons of Theodosius."

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cities of the Arena.[4] The worst elements of foreign populations were attracted to the wealthy and luxurious capital, described by her own poet[5] as the sink into which the sewage of the world's vices was discharged. The military valour of ancient Rome which had subdued the world was fading away. The degenerate infantry had cast away its heavy armour, and the defence of the frontiers of the Empire was abandoned to mercenary troops of barbarians.

The death of Theodosius, who by his martial enterprise and skill had humbled and awed an Athanaric and other chiefs of the Gothic races, was a signal for the disruption of the Roman legionary forces, and for the disgrace of the imperial eagles. Alaric, the leader of the Goths, once a soldier of Theodosius, and a generalissimo of his son Arcadius, having overrun Greece, and been checked for a time by Stilicho, was exasperated by supposed injuries, and encouraged by the feebleness of the Western Empire, which was left without a military Commander after the murder of Stilicho, and made himself master of Rome, without a struggle, while the Emperor of the West, Honorius, with the serene apathy of an Epicurean deity, looked calmly on its fall from Ravenna.

The principal chronological events are as follows:—

A.D.

395. Honorius, in the West, succeeds his father Theodosius; resides at Milan.
396. Alaric passes through Thermopylæ; ravages Greece.
397. Stilicho, the Vandal (husband of Serena, niece of Theodosius), passes into Greece, but allows the Goths to escape.

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[4] The description of the luxury and degeneracy of Roman society by Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century has already been quoted (p. 83). Gibbon characterizes Rome as more dissolute at that time than in the days of the Cæsars.

[5] Juvenal, iii. 281.

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A.D.

398. Alaric is patronized and promoted by Arcadius (son of Theodosius), Emperor of the East.

400. Alaric advances to Aquileia. Honorius retires from Milan to the safer stronghold of Ravenna.

403. Stilicho gains a victory over the Goths at Pollentia (March 29) and Verona.

405. Rhadagaisus, the heathen king of German tribes, with an immense host besieges Florence; is repulsed by Stilicho at Fæsulæ, and killed.

407. Vandals, Alani, Suevi, and Burgundians cross the Rhine and occupy Gaul. Constantine, proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers in Britain, crosses into Gaul.

408. Constantine occupies Spain. Alaric negotiates with Stilicho. Popular excitement against Stilicho; accused of collusion with the Goths; killed (by order of his son-in-law Honorius) at Ravenna. 30,000 barbarians join Alaric, who marches to Rome, which bribes him to retire.

409. Alaric imposes Attalus as Emperor on the Senate of Rome.

410. Alaric besieges Rome for the third time, takes it, and plunders it; retires after three days, and dies at Rhegium; is succeeded by his brother-in-law Athaulph, who married Galla Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great by his second wife Galla.

But leaving this portion of the subject to writers of civil history, we must proceed to consider it in its religious aspects.

The Pagans, as has been said, imputed the fall of Rome to the neglect of the heathen Religion and Worship.

There was some truth in that allegation. Every religion has some elements of truth in it; and Roman Heathenism had much in it that was true, noble, and beautiful; and by means of these elements of truth Rome flourished.[6] It flourished by belief in the existence of divine Beings who governed the world. It flourished also by means of faith in a Future State

[6] Compare the wise remarks of Hooker, E. P. Book V. i.

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of Rewards for justice, honesty, temperance, and patriotism; and of eternal Punishments for injustice, fraud, licentiousness, and treachery. It prospered by means of national belief in the Omnipresence and Omniscience of its deities, which guarded the sanctity of Oaths, and secured social confidence. This has been shown by a judicious and thoughtful historian, Polybius, in his remarks on the causes of Roman greatness.[7]

But under the Cæsars this national faith was rapidly declining. Augustus tried to invigorate it by legislation on Marriage, by rebuilding Temples, and by help of the inspiration of the Muses in the writings of his favourite Poets, Horace and Virgil.[8]

Some endeavours were also made in the West to follow the example of Eastern enthusiasts, the neo-Platonists, such as Plotinus, Eunapius, Hierocles, Hypatia, and Proclus;[9] and to invest Paganism with the fair drapery of a mystical Philosophy. But this was to galvanize a corpse.

In the days of the last of the Cæsars, Juvenal could already say that even boys had ceased to believe in a future state of Rewards and Punishments.[1] The spirit of Roman religion, as a system containing elements of ethical truth, had evaporated; and it had become a caput mortuum of spiritless Rites and Ceremonies; a painted cenotaph of heartless superstition.

This was shown by the effects of imperial legislation on Heathenism. The question of maintaining the Altar of Victory in the Senate-house was argued by

[7] Polyb. Hist. lib. vi.

[8] The *political* character and influence of these two Poets of the Augustan age have hardly been sufficiently recognized. Some attempt has been made to exhibit them above, vol. i. pp. 24, 25—27, 326.

[9] See above, vol. i. p. 24, on Plutarch. Cp., Chastel, Destruction du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient, p. 247. [1] Juvenal, ii. 149.

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Rome's greatest heathen orator Symmachus, but rather on grounds of political expediency than of religious belief; and when that Altar had been removed, and heathen sacrifices were prohibited, and when the revenues of the Vestal Virgins and of the Priests, Aruspices, and Augurs were sequestered, no energetic national protests were heard against these imperial acts of confiscation, and Paganism gradually languished and sank into decay.

The powers of heaven seemed to have pronounced against it, when Eugenius, the imperial votary of its deities, whose images were borne on his standards, and his valiant patron Arbogastes, were routed at Aquileia, amid supernatural phenomena of the elements, by the prayers and arms of Theodosius.[2]

In the expressive words of S. Jerome,[3] the gods of heathenism were sent to keep company with bats and owls, and spiders spun their webs at leisure in the marble temples of Rome.

The contrast between the relative power and vitality of Christianity and Heathenism was thus brought clearly to light.

The blood of the Martyrs had been the seed of the Church; and when her revenues were withdrawn, she was supported by the alms of the faithful. When she was driven from churches, she took refuge in "dens and caves of the earth."[4] But the gods of heathenism had no Martyrs. When its Priests were disfranchised, its worship was silenced. When it was expelled from its temples, it had no refuge elsewhere. Paganism had no catacombs. Consequently, when the Gothic conqueror Alaric appeared before

[2] Sept. 6, A.D. 394; above, pp. 61—63.
[3] Above, p. 217.
[4] Heb. xi. 38.

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the gates of Rome in the summer of A.D. 410, and when, being a professor of Christianity, he threatened to level her temples in the dust—as he had destroyed those of Greece—not a spark was kindled in Roman breasts of that devotional ardour and courageous enthusiasm on their behalf, which animated Grecian heroes at Marathon, and which sounded forth in the strains of that noble war-song[5] from their ships at the battle of Salamis, in defence of their national religion.

It is true therefore, in a certain sense, that Rome fell by the decay of its ancient religion.[6]

It is also true in a certain sense that the capture of Rome was due to Christianity, such as it was there.

If Roman Christianity had been what its Divine Author designed it to be—if it had been what St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Clement had desired it to be —it is not possible to say what might have been the future destinies of Rome. If Roman Christianity had been like salt to season, or like leaven to leaven, the whole of Roman Society, new life might have been infused into the body politic, and Rome might have been animated with a spirit of patriotism and loyalty, and have made vigorous efforts in self-defence; and, with reverence be it said, God might have been pleased to withhold His chastening hand from her.

But nearly 350 years had then elapsed since

[5] Æschyl. Pers. 405, ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε, κ.τ.λ., in which the temples of the gods are joined together with their country, their wives, and their children.

[6] It is said, indeed, by the heathen historian Zosimus (v. 355; Gibbon, xxxi. p. 293) that at the time of the Gothic invasion some sacrificial fires were lighted on the altars of Rome, and that even Innocent, Bishop of Rome, connived at a restoration of Paganism, which is not credible; but when it was proposed by Tuscan diviners to offer sacrifices in the Capitol, the heathen themselves refused to sanction the overture.

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St. Paul's visit to Rome, and for the most part those who called themselves Christians in that City reflected little honour on their name. Some examples of Christian piety and charity shone brightly there. But their light shrank with nervous sensibility from contact with the gloom around it; and it was concentrated with the intense splendour, as it were, of a spiritual Bude light, or electric glare, within a contracted sphere, rather than diffused generally to illuminate civil society. It was shut up in narrow cells of monasteries, or saintly coteries, or it passed away from the Italian shores to shine upon some distant land.

The Rome of the first four centuries was not rich in theological learning. In his long catalogue of 135 names of Ecclesiastical writers from the birth of Christ to his own day,[7] Jerome (as already noticed) could only specify five Bishops of Rome.

The Episcopates of Zephyrinus and Callistus in the earlier part of the third century had been infected by heresy.[8] The sanguinary strifes for the Papal throne in Jerome's day have been already noticed;[9] and the worldly luxury, the wily hypocrisy, and sordid covetousness of many of the Ecclesiastics, and of some of the professed Virgins, are described by him in dark colours, and seem to have driven him from Rome as beyond hope of reformation. "Rome," he exclaims,[1] "is falling, and our proud neck will not bow down in repentance. The barbarians are strong by our sins."

If this was the case with Bishops and Clergy, not much could be expected from the Laity. The numbers

[7] Jerome, vol. iv. part 2, p. 99.
[8] See above, vol. i. pp. 287, 289.
[9] Above, p. 89.
[1] Jerome, Præfat. in Daniel.

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of the Church had been swelled by many who conformed to it from worldly policy rather than from conscientious conviction. Among the signs of the lukewarmness of ancient Roman Christianity, it may be noticed, that no example can be quoted of such missionary zeal at Rome for the conversion of the heathen, as distinguished Alexandria in the days of Clement of Alexandria and Pantænus, and reflected glory on Constantinople in the days of Chrysostom.

Whenever sound faith and religious earnestness decline, the love of Country and attachment to Rulers fade away also. The Emperor of the West looked coldly on the disasters of Rome from his palatial fastness among the morasses of Ravenna; and probably not a single sword would have been unsheathed by the soldiers quartered in the Roman Prætorium to defend the throne of Honorius.

On the whole then, whether we contemplate this subject in a political or religious aspect, we may say that Rome fell by her own internal weakness and corruption rather than by the arms of Alaric and the Goths. Her time of probation was past; and whether Alaric uttered the words ascribed to him or no, the historians [2] declare a moral and spiritual truth in saying, that when a monk met him on his march to Rome, and tried to arrest his course, he replied, "I am not going thither of mine own accord, but there is One Who daily prompts and goads me onward, saying, Go forward and plunder Rome."

A Church Historian might be charged with a culpable omission, if in describing the fall of Rome he were to forget to notice that one of the greatest of French Prelates in the age of Louis XIV., Bossuet,

[2] Socrates, vii. 10. Sozomen, ix. 6.

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Bishop of Meaux, in his Exposition of the Apocalypse of St. John, asserts that the prophecies of that Apostle and Evangelist in it, where he portrays the fall of the mystical Babylon, were fulfilled in the capture of Rome by Alaric in A.D. 410, and that the sins for which she was then punished by God were the abominations of her heathen idolatry.

That the Babylon of the Apocalypse is Rome, none, says Bossuet, can doubt.[3] Rome coincides with St. John's description of Babylon. It is the "city on seven mountains" (Rev. xvii. 9); it is the "city which then ruled" (Rev. xvii. 18). Rome is prefigured by Babylon.

Bossuet is certainly right in saying that the Babylon of the Apocalypse is Rome. But his opinion that the prophecies of that book on the fall of Rome were fulfilled in its capture by Alaric cannot be sustained.

I have examined that opinion in another place,[4] and will not repeat what is there said.

It may suffice to mention one of the many objections to it. The Apocalyptic Babylon is represented by St. John as becoming after its fall, "the hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every unclean and hateful bird" (Rev. xviii. 2), and as utterly desolate (xviii. 19—22). But this certainly was not true of Rome after its capture by Alaric. It flourished for many centuries after it, and it flourishes even to this day.

In addition also to the reasons there given for rejecting it as untenable, and for maintaining that some other fulfilment still future is to be looked for of

[3] Bossuet, Préface sur l'Apocalypse, sect. 7. That Rome is the Apocalyptic Babylon is also affirmed by two of her greatest Cardinals, Cardinal Bellarmine and Cardinal Baronius (Annal. A.D. 45, num. xvi.); see the Notes in my Commentary on the Book of Revelation, chap. xiii. and chap. xvii.

[4] See ibid.

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that prophecy of the Apocalypse, it may be observed that Rome, when captured by Alaric, was more free from idolatry than she had been for a thousand years.

The Roman Senate then declined to join in an idolatrous sacrifice, and the temples themselves were covered with dust, and were falling into decay.[5]

There are other prophecies to which Bossuet refers, and which he says were fulfilled in the capture of Rome by Alaric. He states[6] with perfect truth that the fourth kingdom of Daniel (Dan. ii. 40; vii. 7, 19, 20[7]) was, according to Irenæus (Contra Hær. v. 25, 26) and Jerome, and other Fathers, the Empire of Rome. Bossuet also says, no less truly, that, according to Jerome and other Fathers of the Church, the "Power that letted" or hindered the rise of the "Lawless One," or "Man of Sin" foretold by St. Paul (in 2 Thess. ii. 3—8) was likewise the Roman Empire,[8] and that on its disruption ten

[5] See above, p. 217, and cp. August. Epist. 232, where he speaks of "templa collapsa, partim diruta, partim clausa; ipsa simulacra deorum confringi vel incendi vel destrui."

[6] Bossuet, Préface sur l'Apocalypse, sect. 22. Gibbon also (vi. p. 407, chap. xxxviii.) refers to Daniel's prophecy concerning the fourth Monarchy (Dan. ii. 31—40), and to Jerome's exposition of it, as fulfilled in the Roman Empire.

[7] May I refer to my notes on these passages of Daniel for further elucidation of them?

[8] Bossuet refers to Jerome's Epistles to Gaudentius (Epist. 98) and to Ageruchia (Epist. 91). See above, pp. 210, 238, 247. He might also have referred to Jerome's answer to the questions of Algasia, vol. iv. part i. p. 209, where he says that the power "which letted," as described by St. Paul, is "Romanum imperium," and that when it is taken away the "homo peccati revelabitur," and that he will sit "in Ecclesiâ." And Jerome shrewdly gives the reason why St. Paul did *not* openly *mention* by *name* the power which letted, and which was to be *taken away*; for if he had done so, "then there would have been a just cause for persecuting the Church on the part of imperial Rome, which supposed herself to be *eternal*." And further, Jerome in his commentary on

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kingdoms[9] would (according to Daniel[1] and St. John) arise. But it cannot be rightly affirmed, that the Roman Empire was destroyed at the capture of Rome by Alaric. Doubtless it lost much of its grandeur in the eyes of the World, and was ignominiously humbled by its inability to do what had been done by Theodosius marching from the East; namely, to rescue its capital, Rome, from the grasp of the barbarians under Alaric in A.D. 410, and from Attila in 452, and from Genseric in 455; from Odoacer in 476, and Totila in 546. But still it lingered on. Even at the end of the sixth century the Bishops of Rome were nominated by the Imperial power with mandates from the East.[2]

But in due time, as Daniel had foretold, the Roman Empire was broken up into many independent Kingdoms; and also eventually, when the Roman Power "which letted" had been removed, a far more potent Dynasty, with much higher pretensions and more extensive claims, was manifested (as Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John had foretold it would be) in the seven-hilled city, the ancient Capital of the World—the Dominion of the Roman Papacy.

This was one of the consequences of the capture of

Daniel, cap. vii., says plainly, "Let us affirm the truth, which all Ecclesiastical writers have delivered to us, that when the Roman Empire is destroyed, Ten Kings (or Kingdoms) will divide the Roman World" (according to Daniel), and the "Man of Sin be revealed" (according to St. Paul).

[9] *Ten* in prophetical language is often used in general terms for a *large number*.

[1] Dan. ii. 40; vii. 7, 19, 20.

[2] Pope Gregory the Great, speaking of his own election to the Papacy by the Emperor in A.D. 590, says (ii. p. 216, ed. Paris, 1705), "Ecce Serenissimus Dominus Imperator fieri simiam leonem jussit;" and Gregory IV., A.D. 827, could not become Pope without the Emperor's consent.

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Rome by Alaric. Others, more beneficial to Christianity, followed that event.

Jerome indeed lamented the fall of Rome as if it had been an universal calamity. "In that one city all the world has perished."[3] And, "What is safe when Rome expires?"[4]

But others, such as Augustine and his friend Orosius, were more far-sighted, and took another view of that catastrophe; and subsequent events have confirmed their opinions.

As to Rome herself, Augustine has truly remarked[5] that the divine judgment upon her was tempered with mercy. The rage of the barbarian conquerors was mitigated, it would seem, by supernatural influences. Alaric, who might have changed Rome into the capital of a Gothic kingdom, departed from it in a few days. The moral and religious life of Rome was purified and spiritualized for a time by the discipline of suffering which it passed through.[6]

The capture of Rome by Alaric was a providential dispensation even to Rome herself.

Imperial Rome, by her conquests over other nations, had shaken their faith in the power of their local deities,[7] and prepared them to accept Christianity; and the destruction of Rome by the arms of Goths, many of whom were Christians, having profited by the teaching of Ulphilas[8] their Bishop ("the Moses of the Goths"), and by his Version of the Scriptures, and who

[3] Jerome, Prolog. in Ezekiel. [4] Jerome, Epist. 60.

[5] August. de Civ. Dei, i. 30, "de clementia Dei quæ Urbis excidium temperavit."

[6] See Chrysost. Sermon. de Excidio Urbis, vol. vi. p. 1053, "Manu emendantis Dei correpta est potius civitas illa quam perdita."

[7] See vol. i. pp. 15, 16.

[8] On whom see above, vol. ii. p. 270.

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spared Churches,[9] while they ruined Temples, was a shock to Paganism, and gave an impulse to Christianity. It was a providential thing (as Augustine observes) that Rome, which was captured by Alaric in A.D. 410, had not been taken by the superior force[1] of his predecessor Rhadagaisus in A.D. 405, who was an idolater,[2] and whose defeat was as sudden and complete as the attacks of Alaric were triumphant.

Other beneficent consequences flowed from this success of the Gothic arms, and from other similar victories which followed it in Italy and in various countries of Europe.

Many of those barbarian Conquerors were more eminent in moral virtues, as well as in manliness and courage, than those who were subdued by them. "Why is it that we Christians are conquered by some who are not Christians?" "God has executed a righteous judgment upon us," answers the historian Salvian[3]—a Priest of Marseilles—"by their means. The Barbarians," he adds, "are more pure and chaste than Romans. Indeed, among the Goths, the only unchaste persons are Romans, and among the Vandals the Romans themselves have learnt purity. Let no one imagine any other cause of our calamities. Our sins have conquered us. The Church, which ought to have appeased God, exasperates Him.[4] The Christian

[9] Augustine de Civ. Dei, i. 7, v. 23, where he speaks of their rage against idols and reverence for holy places.

[1] "Agmine ingenti et immenso," de Civ. Dei, v. 23.

[2] "Dæmonum cultor."

[3] Salvian de Gubernatione Dei, iv. 12—14; v. 4; vii. 1, 6, 11, 13, 23. Cp. Baur, F. C., die Christliche Kirche, Tübingen, 1863, ii. 7—16. The works of Salvian (whose birth is placed by Tillemont—xvi. 182—at the end of the fourth century) de Gubernatione Dei, in eight books, may be seen in the fifty-third Volume of Migne's Patrologia.

[4] Salvian, iii. 9; iv. 4.

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community—our nobles in high places, our soldiers in the camp, our tradesmen in the market—have become a sink of vices. Vain it is to have the name of Christian without the virtues of Christianity. We are polluted by vices, especially by sins of harlotry and adultery,[5] and by words and deeds of blasphemy and of ungodliness, and by ribald songs and lustful exhibitions in our theatres,[6] and by sanguinary and homicidal spectacles in our amphitheatres."

In one of his letters[7] to a Bishop, he describes the degeneracy of the Bishops and Clergy. "We are 'stricken, but not grieved' (Jer. v. 3). We are punished for our sins, but we do not repent and amend our lives.[8]

Some of those barbarian invaders were Christians (as already mentioned), but Arians, and many others of them were heathens. He thus describes them:[9] "All of them are either heathens or heretics; among the heathens are the Saxons, Franks, Gepidæ (a Gothic tribe), Huns, and Alani; many of the Goths and Vandals are heretics—Arians." He puts again the question, Why are we conquered by them? The answer is, "They have not the privileges we enjoy. The heathen among them have no knowledge of God. They offend Him unconsciously. We have His Word and His Church." And of the Arian Goths and Vandals he says,[1] that though they had worse teachers, they themselves were better scholars than the Romans.

[5] Salvian, iv. 6, 7, 15.
[6] Ibid. vi. 2, 3.
[7] Ad Salonium Episcopum, Epist. ix.
[8] "Flagellamur non corrigimur."
[9] Ibid. iv. 14.
[1] Ibid. vii. 9; and he says (vii. 3, 6, 7) that there was no harlotry or adultery among the Goths or Vandals, whereas the Roman world was "pene unum lupanar," and polluted, in some cities, by even worse sins (vii. 8), and that some of the barbarians were exemplary in prayer and praise to God (vii. 9).

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"Therefore we are more guilty than they are, and are justly punished by God, Who uses them to chastise us. And while we are dwindling away, they are daily increasing in numbers and strength."[2]

But besides this vindication of God's justice in the eyes of the world, and in addition to the exhortation to repentance which followed it, in the chastisement of the sins of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire,[3] there was an overflow of beneficent consequences for the various and multitudinous Barbarian races themselves, and for their posterity in many generations, from the success which He gave to their arms.

The work of Salvian, already noticed, "on the Government of God," is the Commentary of a Christian priest and philosopher on this national Revolution. Another work, written by a friend of Augustine and Jerome, a priest of Spain, Orosius,[4] and undertaken at the request of the former, contains interesting and instructive observations upon it.

He observes in his preface to Augustine that the times in which they lived were not congenial to unbelievers, because their tendency was to undermine idolatry, and to give an impulse to Christianity.

He illustrates this by an exposition of the salutary influences of the admixture of barbarian with Roman populations. The hardy virtues of the former were a salutary corrective of the luxurious effeminacy of the latter. The Intermarriages of the different races infused new blood into the decrepit frame of Roman Society, and the Literature and Civilization of Roman

[2] "Illi crescunt quotidie, nos decrescimus," vii. 1.

[3] This is well developed by Dean Jackson on the Creed, vol. v. p. 438.

[4] Orosius Paullinus, Presbyter Hispanus, Historiarum libri vii., dedicated to Augustine. It is contained in the thirty-first Volume of Migne's Patrologia.

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Society conduced to humanize the manners of the rude nomads of the north.

Many of them, says Orosius, were weaned from savage barbarism to the arts of peace; they exchanged the sword for the plough. Their acquisition of the Latin language opened to their view a new field of instruction and delight in the pages of Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Virgil, and Horace, and of other inestimable productions of Classical Antiquity. Many Romans also preferred the life they led under their new masters the barbarians, to that unhappy vassalage which had bowed them to the dust with a heavy load of taxation under the imperial sway.[5]

But there were other great benefits which arose from this migration of the countless swarms of northern populations to the more genial regions of Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and Africa, and from the consequent intermingling of races. The Arian Goths and Vandals were thus brought into contact with Catholicity. Even the violent persecution of the Catholics in Spain and Africa by Vandals was not without its uses. The Church, which greatly needed such discipline, was purified by it. Many were crowned with Martyrdom; and eventually the Arian heresy was almost extinguished at the end of the sixth century.

Vast multitudes also of heathens were thus converted to Christianity. It would have been difficult, almost impossible, to evangelize them by Missions sent from Italy or Gaul, Spain or Africa, to their distant abodes; and those Churches had little heart for the work. If we may so speak, these barbarian tribes became their own Missionaries. They were

[5] Cp. Baur, Kirchen-geschichte, ii. p. 12.

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tempted from their distant homes, stretching from the Caspian Sea to Pomerania, by the allurements of the sunny climes, the fertile corn-fields, green vineyards and olive-groves, and wealthy cities of the South; and —to borrow the imagery of the Gospel and of the primitive Church—they swam like shoals of fish into the stretched-out Net of the Gospel.

Happily also S. Jerome was just bringing to a completion his great work in translating the Holy Scriptures from the inspired Originals, which were thus placed within the reach of countless myriads from the North.

These benefits are well expressed by Orosius:[6] "The mercy of God would deserve to be praised and extolled, for sending the Barbarians to invade the territory of Rome, even were it for no other cause than this, that the Churches of Christ in the East and West are now filled with Huns and Suevi, Vandals and Burgundians, and by diverse and innumerable multitudes of believers, although it is by means of our dissolution that these great and various nations have embraced the faith, which they could not have received except by such a catastrophe. What loss is it to us Christians, who are hastening to life eternal, to be withdrawn at any time from the present world?" As a faithful Hebrew and true Israelite, like St. Paul, could find comfort in the destruction of the Temple and City of Jerusalem, and in the national humiliation of the Jews, from the impulse thence given to the diffusion of the Gospel among the Gentiles, and to the expansion of Jerusalem itself into the Catholic Church of Christ; so a loyal citizen of the Roman Empire, who looked upward to Christ as King of

[6] Orosius, Hist. vii. 41.

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Kings and Saviour of the World, could contemplate with resignation and thankfulness, as Augustine, Salvian, and Orosius did, the capture of Rome, as accelerating the extension of Christ's Kingdom by the consequent reception of the invaders of Italy into the fold of the Church, and as bringing these, who subjugated the Capital of the World, to bow their necks meekly beneath the cross of Christ.

Orosius regarded the barbarians as instruments of God, and compared them in their conquests to Alexander the Great in his triumphs.[7] "Alexander seemed to some a roaming marauder of kingdoms.[8] But God used him as His own agent. He punished guilty powers by Alexander's hand, and founded mighty kingdoms by his means. So these Barbarians now seem to many to be mere piratical plunderers and brigands; but when they have subdued and settled other countries, they themselves, who have been feared as cruel destroyers, will be regarded as beneficent Potentates."

This was a noble prophecy, and was ratified in the event. The greatest kingdoms of modern Europe have sprung from those barbarian conquerors; and the words of Orosius, writing in the fifth century, may be illustrated by the statement of our own historian,[9] looking back to these events from the eighteenth :—

"Christianity was embraced by almost all the Barbarians who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western Empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of

[7] Orosius, iii. 20.

[8] "Fugax latro regnorum."

[9] Gibbon, chap. xxxvii. p. 272. Cp. Dean Stanley on the Eastern Church, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

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Mercenaries that raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy. The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of Paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the Christian example of Clovis,[1] and the Saxon conquerors were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missionaries of Rome.[2] These Barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent and successful zeal in the propagation of the Faith. The Merovingian Kings, and their successors Charlemagne and the Othos, extended by their laws and victories the dominion of the Cross. England produced the 'Apostle of Germany,'[3] and the Evangelic light was gradually diffused from the neighbourhood of the Rhine to the Nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic."

The Emperor Theodosius the Great, after his victory at Aquileia (A.D. 394), was received with grateful exultation by S. Ambrose at Milan,[4] and joined with him in hopeful anticipations of a happy union of the temporal and spiritual powers under the imperial sway of the Cæsars, guided by the sage counsels of the Catholic Episcopate.

But this vision was not realized. In sixteen years afterwards it was dissipated for ever by the capture of the imperial City by a former soldier of Theodosius, Alaric the Goth, and by the humiliation of the Western Empire under the son of Theodosius, Honorius. The inherent vices of the principles which underlay the imperial legislation for the Church, by

[1] Converted A.D. 496.

[2] The Visigoths of Spain were converted before the end of the sixth century; the Lombards of Italy soon after the beginning of the seventh.

[3] S. Boniface (Winifred), A.D. 680—755. [4] Above, pp. 63—67.

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means of edicts and rescripts such as fill the Theodosian Code, were soon made manifest in the application of them by Hunneric the Vandal in Africa, who set an Arian Primate to preside over 466 Catholic Bishops[5] at Carthage, 302 of whom were banished by the royal command.[6]

The fabric of the Roman Empire in the West showed signs of dissolution under Theodosius, then sole monarch of the civilized world, who died in the year after the battle of Aquileia. And if Theodosius —who cherished fond hopes of Roman supremacy under the influence of Christianity, but who also nobly preferred Christ's glory to his own, and endeavoured to promote the advancement of His Kingdom more than that of the Roman Empire—were now alive, and if he saw what we see as the religious consequences of the barbarian conquests, probably even he would acquiesce gladly in the divine dispensations, and would not wish to have been able to stretch forth his hand to arrest the fall of Rome.

The rude barbarians of the North were brought under the influence of southern civilization, and within the fold of the Church. Christian Missions, formerly unknown in the West, began to flourish. Fresh life was infused into the decrepit frame of the Roman World by the immigration of those hardy and vigorous tribes of the north, which laid the foundations of those mighty Kingdoms, famous in arts and arms, and afterwards adorned its ancient cities with Christian Churches and Colleges. It was God's will, in His inscrutable counsels, that together with them

[5] Victor Vitensis de Persecutione Vandalica, ii. 13—18, and lib. iv. ed. Ruinart. Paris, 1694. Victor was a Bishop banished by Hunneric.

[6] Compare Gibbon, chap. xxxvii.

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should rise up at Rome that mysterious spiritual Power which afterwards tried—and is still trying—the faith of Christendom, and which has abused its marvellous gifts too often into instruments of personal aggrandizement, and for drawing many from their loyalty to Christ. But before the full development of this antichristian pride, Rome, after its capture by Alaric, which humbled it for a time and purified it, rendered great services to the World.

The seeds of future evils were sown (as we have already seen [7]) by the antiscriptural decretals of Pope Siricius in the fourth century, and (as we shall hereafter see [8]) by the no less antiscriptural pretensions of Pope Leo I. in the fifth; but we ought not to forget the services rendered to the Faith by the same Leo, and by Gregory I. in the sixth century. At length, however, Rome riveted the attention of thoughtful students of Holy Scripture on the prophecies of Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John, which were partly fulfilled by the arrogant claims of the Papacy in the Pontificates of Gregory VII.[9] and Boniface VIII.[1]

[7] Above, chap. v. pp. 97—113.

[8] In chapters xxi. and xxii.

[9] The assertions of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), called "dictatus Papæ," are specified by Cardinal Baronius in his Ecclesiastical Annals, A.D. 1076, num. 31 and 32. Some among them are as follows:—

The Pope may depose Emperors.

He may absolve subjects from their allegiance.

No book or chapter of Scripture is to be regarded as canonical without his authority.

No Council can be called General without his command.

No one can review his judgments, and he can review the judgments of others.

[1] Boniface VIII., A.D. 1302 (in his Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. viii.), says, "We declare, define, and pronounce that it is necessary for the salvation of every human being to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

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CHAPTER XII.

On the place of S. Augustine in Church History—His personal history.

JEROME in the last of his extant Epistles, written in the year before his death,[1] expressed his affectionate veneration for Augustine, and congratulated him on the success of his efforts in the refutation of error and the vindication of truth, and commended to him a continuation of the work, which he himself in old age and sorrow was unable to pursue, of maintaining the cause of sound doctrine against the Pelagian heresy.

Augustine occupied a place in Church history which may be called the complement to that of S. Jerome and of other Fathers of the Church. In some respects it was unique; and more than any of his contemporaries, he may be said to have projected the shadow of his name, of his writings, and of his acts, over all succeeding ages from the fourth and fifth centuries to the present day.

Other Fathers of the Church, such as Hilary, Ambrose, and Jerome in the West, and Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrysostom in the East, do not seem to have passed through conflicts of

[1] A.D. 419, Epist. 81, p. 646. See above, p. 247.

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scepticism in their earlier years, but to have gradually risen from the discipline of Christian Education under pious parents and teachers to the highest positions in the Church. S. Augustine stands in solitary contrast to them all in this respect. We know more of his personal history[2] than of any other Father of the Church, except perhaps Gregory Nazianzen. He has unveiled himself to the world in his spiritual autobiography—his Confessions,[3] written A.D. 400—in the fifth year of his Episcopate.

Augustine enjoyed the blessing of a holy mother; and in all the violent conflicts of a vigorous intellect, writhing with convulsive agonies, if we may so speak, like a spiritual Laocoon in the serpentine strictures of doubt and despair, which threatened to strangle him; and in all the passionate voluptuousness and foul corruptions of a noble nature wallowing in the mire of sensuality at Carthage; and amid all the dreary bewilderments of a moral dissolution in which he wandered when a votary of the Manichæan heresy,[4] which bewitched him by the mention of Christ and the Holy Ghost, and by promises of clear revelations of both; and amid the self-complacent indifference of Academic Agnosticism;[5] and amid the noble aspirations, first of Philosophy derived from Cicero's

[2] We have also the Life of S. Augustine, written by his friend Possidius, Bishop of Calama. The Life of Augustine by the Benedictine Editors, in the eleventh volume of his works, is very valuable.

[3] The English reader may be glad to consult the translation of the Confessions in the "Library of the Fathers," with notes by Dr. Mozley; also the biographical articles on Augustine's conversion and last days, in the "Church of the Fathers," by Dr. Newman, pp. 208—249, Lond. 1840.

[4] Confess. iii. 4, "Excitabar sermone illo et ardebam;" but the name of Christ was not there, which his Mother had taught him to love, and "hoc refringebat."

[5] Confess. v. 10.

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Hortensius, and next of the still higher soarings of Platonism, which filled him with unutterable longings for what was grand, beautiful, true, and divine,[6] but was unable to satisfy the appetite which it created; and amid the refinements of literary studies,[7] and the fascinations of dramatic entertainments; and in the excitements of his rhetorical lectures and exercises, which attracted many admirers, and ministered to his intellectual pride, but disqualified him for tasting the simple beauties and humiliating truths of the Holy Scriptures,[8] he never lost sight of the holy example, the unquestioning faith, the fervent devotion, and self-sacrificing love of his mother Monica.[9] Her image was ever at his heart, and the consummation of all his long and laborious struggle, and the victory over all antagonisms from within and without, was in a return to that childlike docility and humility which drinks faith in by love, looking upward to the cross of Christ, and meekly kneeling beneath it.[1]

In these respects S. Augustine holds a position of his own, which invests him with a peculiar interest. He is a specimen of great and noble intellects, trained by literary and scientific culture, brought into contact with, and under the temporary dominion of, sceptical negations, specious theories, and fascinating allurements, and yet true in the inmost recesses of the

[6] Confess. viii. 20.

[7] Ibid. i. 13; iv. 16.

[8] Ibid. iii. 16.

[9] Cp. Confess. i. 11; iii. 4, 11. He says "that he had sucked in the love of the Name of his Saviour the Son of God with his mother's milk into his heart, and that it never left him." Compare the remarks of Neander, iv. 15.

[1] See Confession viii. 20, where he speaks of "illa ædificans caritas fundamento humilitatis, quod est Christus Jesus," and Aug. de Moribus Eccl. Cathol. i. 12, 13, 14.

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heart to the teachings of motherly religious training, and with an earnest and conscientious desire to embrace the truth, and with fervent prayer to God to reveal it.

Augustine was born in Africa, at Tagaste in Numidia—to the west of Carthage—on Nov. 13, A.D. 354. His parents were Patricius, a civilian of slender fortune, and his wife Monica, who is commemorated for her piety by the Latin Church on May 4. He was trained in a small school at Tagaste; then at Madaura, and thence was removed to Carthage, when about seventeen years of age, when he lost his father. He there had a son, whom he called Adeodatus (i.e. given of God) by a concubine.

He there joined the Manichæan heretics, with whom he continued to communicate for nine years.

At Carthage he taught Rhetoric, and had many pupils. From Carthage he went to Rome, when about twenty-nine years of age, and there attracted the attention of Symmachus, the eloquent Orator, the prefect of the City, the champion of heathenism in the controversy with Ambrose already described.[2]

By Symmachus he was sent, as professor of Rhetoric, to Milan, to which place he was followed by his mother Monica.

At Milan he heard the Sermons of Ambrose, and at length was converted to Christianity, A.D. 386: the circumstances of his Conversion will be described hereafter. He was baptized by Ambrose, together with his son Adeodatus and a friend Alypius, on Easter Eve, April 24, A.D. 387, in the thirty-third year of his age,[3] in the baptistery near the greater Basilica,[4] at the time

[2] Above, pp. 24—34.

[3] See the authorities in the Benedictine Life of Augustine, cap. vii.

[4] See above, p. 36.

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when Ambrose was contending for the faith against Arianism, favoured by the Empress Justina.

He describes his joy at his own baptism,[5] and at the baptism of his son Adeodatus, a youth of extraordinary genius, which filled his father with awe,[6] and of blameless life, soon and suddenly to be cut short. "The perplexities of my past life," says Augustine, "vanished away, and the sweetness of those days was inexhaustible. How did I weep at the sounds of those hymns and chants, and the sweet music of Thy Church, O God! Those sounds thrilled in my ears, and Truth streamed into my heart. My tears flowed, and I was happy."

The Latin Church commemorates the deaths of Saints and Martyrs, which it calls their birthday;[7] but it celebrates only two *Conversions*—that of St. Paul on Jan. 25, and that of Augustine on May 5.[8]

Both in St. Paul and S. Augustine the working of God's providence for the good of His Church was visible in a marvellous manner.

To speak of Augustine. It was fortunate that he did not remain in Africa, but went from Carthage to Rome; and as St. Paul went to the place of his conversion, Damascus, with an official commission from the rulers of Jerusalem to aid the foes of the Christians, and in order to exterminate them, so Augustine went to Milan, where he was converted, on a mission from one of the most powerful adversaries of Christianity, Symmachus, prefect of Rome. What Ananias was to Saul at Damascus, that Ambrose was to Augustine at Milan.

[5] Augustine, Confessions, ix. 6.

[6] "Horrori mihi erat illud ingenium; cito de terrâ abstulisti vitam ejus." [7] "Natalitia Martyrum." [8] S. Monica's Day.

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If we were disposed to believe in a metempsychosis, we might almost be inclined to say that the soul of St. Paul passed into Augustine. Augustine is rightly celebrated by the Latin Church as "Doctor Gratiæ." St. Paul ascribed all the fruit of his labours to God's Grace (1 Cor. xv. 10), and he began and ended all the Epistles which bear his name with the word "Grace."

There is scarcely a Christian Father, of whom we know so much from himself as Augustine. And St. Paul has left two accounts of his own Conversion (Acts xxii. xxvi.), and his Epistles abound with personal narratives of himself, which were extorted from him by his enemies (2 Cor. xi. xii. Cp. Gal. ii.; 1 Tim. i. 12—15; 2 Tim. iii. 10—12). And the Apostle's description of his internal conflict, and his exclamation (Rom. vii. 18—25), "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord" —a sentence dear to S. Augustine[9]—might have been adopted by him as the motto of his Confessions. Augustine also was in a great measure formed by St. Paul's Epistles.[1] St. Paul's name recurs frequently in the history of Augustine's Conversion; he could not at first relish the other Scriptures; his fastidiousness was repelled by the simplicity of their style; but his philosophical intellect and rhetorical taste were attracted by the logical vigour and fervid eloquence of the Apostle,[2] with which also he was incredibly delighted, because St. Paul not only did

[9] See Confess. viii. 5 and 21.

[1] Cp. Neander, Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus, p. 6.

[2] Confess. viii. 21, "Avidissimè arripui venerabilem stilum Spiritûs Tui et præ cæteris Apostoli *Pauli*."

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what the Platonists, whose works he admired, tried to do, and could not; but who did, what they did not profess to do, namely, revealed Christ, the Eternal Word, as a Divine Person, and declared Him to be God Incarnate, redeeming the world from the power and guilt of sin by the sacrifice of the Cross, and drawing all men to Himself by love, and showing them by precept and example the way of everlasting peace and glory by humility, and satisfying the cravings of his soul for reconciliation and union with God, and opening to him the way for the vision and fruition of Him.' Augustine was induced to resort to Simplicianus,[3] who was the friend and teacher of Ambrose. He told Simplicianus that he had read some books of the Platonists which Victorinus the orator of Rome had translated into Latin; on which Simplicianus related to him the history of Victorinus himself, once a famous teacher of rhetoric, like Augustine, and who sacrificed everything for Christ, and made a public declaration of his faith in the evil days of the Emperor Julian.[4] The example of Victorinus stirred the heart of Augustine; and when some days afterwards he was in deep meditation, he received a visit from a distinguished military officer, Pontitianus, a fellow-countryman of his own, and a Christian, who observed a book lying on Augustine's table. That book was St. Paul's Epistles; his friend expressed his surprise and joy, and took occasion to converse with him on the life of Antony the hermit, and his self-sacrifice for Christ, which had been described by Athanasius, and which made

[3] Confess. viii. 1, 2.

[4] The remarkable history of the conversion of Victorinus has been already related in vol. ii. pp. 164—166.

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a deep impression on Athanasius,[5] as it did also on Augustine.[6]

Augustine retired into the garden, and meditated on what he had heard, and said to his friend Alypius, "These unlearned men" (meaning Antony and other hermits and monks) "rise up, and seize heaven,[7] while we students, with our heartless book-learning, lie wallowing in the mire of carnal lusts." He then describes the violent paroxysms of his agony, in which his friend shared. He longed and prayed for immediate deliverance. "A violent storm," he says,[8] "raged within me, bringing with it a flood of tears; and that it might have vent, I quitted Alypius, and retired to a more solitary retreat. I threw myself on the ground under a fig-tree, and gave vent to the tears which streamed from my eyes. And I cried, 'O Lord, how long? O Lord, how long wilt Thou be angry—for ever? Remember not our old sins (Ps. vi. 3; lxxix. 5). How long, how long,—how long? To-morrow, to-morrow? why not to-day? Wherefore not to-day? Wherefore is not this hour to be the end of my foulness of life?' These were my words, and I wept with bitter remorse of heart."

Immediately he heard from a neighbouring house the voice, as of a boy or girl (he knew not which), repeating frequently with a musical chant the words "*Tolle, lege;*" "*Tolle, lege;*" "Take up, and read;" "Take up, and read." He returned at once to the place where he had left Alypius, for his own copy of St. Paul; he opened it forthwith, and his eyes caught the words,[9] "Not in rioting and

[5] Who wrote his life. See above, vol. i. pp. 430—443, for an account of the influence of Antony on the Church.

[6] Ibid. p. 432.

[7] "Cœlum rapiunt," Conf. viii. 8.

[8] Conf. viii. 12.

[9] Rom. xiii. 13, 14.

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drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." "I had no need to read more; at this sentence light streamed into my heart; all its darkness disappeared. I closed the book, and with a serene countenance gave it to Alypius, and told him what I had read."

S. Augustine was called by the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul, as Paul himself had been called by the voice of Jesus Christ speaking from heaven. He told his mother what had happened, at which she greatly rejoiced. He resigned his profession as teacher of rhetoric in the autumn of 386, and gave his name to S. Ambrose as a candidate for Holy Baptism, and, as already related, was baptized by him on Easter Eve, A.D. 387.

I have introduced here this reference to St. Paul in relation to Augustine, because it seems to afford a clue to some intricate questions on the teaching of Augustine on Predestination, and on the divine Foreknowledge, divine Grace, human Freewill, Reprobation, Election, and Perseverance, connected with the Pelagian controversy, in which he took so leading a part.

Augustine's teachings on these points—to which we shall recur hereafter—were mainly grounded on St. Paul, especially on the Epistle to the Romans.[1]

But it is much to be regretted that his knowledge of St. Paul was not derived from the Apostle's original Greek, but from a Latin translation of it. Augustine says that in his youth he had a repugnance to the study of Greek,[2] and his knowledge of the Platonists was received through a Latin translation.[3]

[1] Rom. ix.—xi. [2] Confess. i. 14. [3] Ibid. viii. 2.

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If Augustine had studied St. Paul in his own language, it is probable that his opinions on Predestination, Election, and Reprobation would have been different from what they were.

The inadequacy of the Latin language to express the true doctrine of St. Paul, and the imperfection of the Latin Vulgate in that respect (and the consequent misfortune and error of making the Vulgate the standard text of Scripture, as the Church of Rome has done[4]), have been pointed out clearly by one of our greatest scholars, Dr. Bentley; who has illustrated his statements by reference to those doctrines of Predestination, Election, and Reprobation, in connexion with a crucial chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.[5]

[4] In the fourth Session of the Council of Trent.

[5] Bentley's words on Romans v. 15 (Sermon on 2 Cor. ii. 17, vol. iii. p. 245, ed. 1838) are as follows; I have kept his capitals:—

"After the Apostle had said (*v.* 12), *that by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men* (εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους), *for that all have sinned;* in the reddition of this sentence (*v.* 15), he says, *for if through the offence* (τοῦ ἑνὸς) *of one* (οἱ πολλοὶ) *many be dead* (so our Translators), *much more the grace of God by* (τοῦ ἑνὸς) *one man, Jesus Christ,* hath abounded (εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς) *unto many.* Now who would not wish that they had kept the articles in the version, which they saw in the original? *If through the offence of the one* (that is, Adam), *the many have died, much more the grace of God by* the one *man Jesus Christ hath abounded unto* the many. By this accurate version, some hurtful mistakes about *partial redemption and absolute reprobation,* had been happily prevented; our English readers had then seen what several of the Fathers saw and testified, that οἱ πολλοὶ, *the many,* in an antithesis to *the one,* are equivalent to πάντες, *all* (in *v.* 12), and comprehend the *whole multitude, the entire species of mankind,* exclusive only of *the one.* So again (*v.* 18 and 19 of the same chapter), our Translators have repeated the like mistake, where, when the Apostle had said, *that as the offence of one was upon all men* (εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους) *to condemnation, so the righteousness of one was upon* ALL MEN *to justification; for,* adds he, *as by* (τοῦ ἑνὸς) *the one man's disobedience* (οἱ πολλοὶ) *the many were made sinners, so by the obedience* (τοῦ ἑνὸς) *of* THE ONE (οἱ πολλοὶ) *the many shall be made righteous.* By this version the reader is admonished and guided to

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From Milan Augustine returned to Rome with his mother, and came to Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, on his way back to his native land. One day, a little before her death, she and her son were alone together, and were leaning on the sill of a window, which opened into a garden, at Ostia, and there they conversed together concerning another life—the life of eternal peace and joy in the presence of God. All earthly things vanished from their sight, and they seemed to be transported out of the body, and to be entranced in a spiritual ecstasy of heavenly contemplation.

"My son," she said, "I have nothing more to keep me in this world. There was one thing for which I wished to live a while—to see you a Catholic Christian before my death. That wish is more than fulfilled. I see that you now despise the things of this world, and live only for the service of God. Why then do I tarry here?"

Soon afterwards his mother fell asleep in peace, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, having lived to see the accomplishment of her hopes and desires in the conversion of her son, and the truth of the words of the good Bishop who had once been a Manichæan, and whom she had asked to try and convert him by arguments. "No: this I cannot do; my reasonings would be of no use; but let him read as I did, and he will discover their errors for himself; and do you continue to pray

remark that *the many* in *v.* 19 are the same as πάντες, *all*, in the 18th, that is, as before, τῶν πάντων, of the *whole race* of men, exclusive of himself, agreeably to that of St. John (1 Epist. ii. 2), *He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for those of the* WHOLE WORLD; and to that of St. Paul (1 Tim. ii. 6), *Christ Jesus, Who gave Himself* (ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων) *a ransom for* ALL."

It is observable also that Augustine translates ἐφ' ᾧ, in Rom. v. 12, by *in* illo, and supplies either homine, peccato, or θανάτῳ.

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for him: it is not possible that the son of those tears of yours should perish."

After a year's stay at Rome, Augustine returned to Africa.

At Easter in A.D. 391 he was ordained Priest at Hippo, in the fortieth year of his age.

Nearly five years afterwards, at the close of A.D. 395, he was consecrated Bishop, as coadjutor to Valerius, Bishop of Hippo, who was a Greek, and not able to speak Latin fluently. Valerius died soon after that appointment, and Augustine formed a school of religious life and theological training in his Episcopal house. Possidius, Bishop of Calama, his biographer, mentions that thirteen Bishops went forth from that school.

In the year 430 Hippo was besieged by the Vandals, led by their king Genseric.

Many took refuge in the city. Augustine had with him many African bishops and friends, among whom was Possidius, who had lived with him on familiar terms for forty years.

"We used continually to converse," says Possidius, "during the siege, on our calamities, and to meditate on God's tremendous judgments, saying, 'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and true are Thy judgments.' One day, when we were talking at meal-time, he said, 'I pray God to deliver this city, or, if not, to give us grace to bear His will, or to take me to Himself.' We prayed with him. On the third month of the siege he was seized with a fever and took to his bed, and became very weak. He used to say to us," writes Possidius,[6] "that no Priest, however holy, ought to depart this life without a preparatory season of penitence.

[6] Possid. Vit. Aug. 42.

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This he practised. In his last sickness he ordered the seven penitential Psalms[7] to be written in four columns and fixed on the wall, so that when lying in bed he might rest his eyes on them and read them, which he did with many tears; and he desired to be left alone, except at such times when the physician came to visit him, or some one brought him his food; and during that time he gave himself to prayer."

"He had been able (adds Possidius) to preach the Word of God without intermission, and with alacrity, boldness, unimpaired mind, and judgment. He fell asleep in our presence, with perfect soundness of limb, and of sight and hearing, and was gathered to his fathers, in a good old age, while we were praying with him; and the sacrifice to God was offered at his burial." He died on Aug. 28, A.D. 430, having been Bishop for thirty-five years, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

[7] Ps. 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143.

END OF VOL. III.

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